

Prostitutes can't be raped: The role of empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution in observer reactions towards raped prostitutes

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Abstract

This study will examine to what extent people show empathy and assign blame towards raped prostitutes and how this is related to a positive or negative attitude towards prostitution using an experimental format. Also, a short legal framework will be provided to gain more insight in the role of law enforcements and legislation regarding prostitution. Participants (n = 118) participating in the experiment were divided over three conditions (voluntary, forced and control) and filled in a questionnaire after reading a vignette. Results indicate that rape victims working in prostitution are blamed more for their victimization compared to rape victims that do not working in prostitution and that men are more likely to blame victims of rape and have a more positive attitude towards prostitution. Further research should give more insight in how the blaming of (non)stereotypical rape victims should be dealt with and possibly can be overcome.

Keywords: empathy, victim blaming, attitudes, victims, rape, prostitution, criminal justice.

The role of empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards raped prostitutes

In the Netherlands every year 10000 new cases of sexual violence are reported and every 1 out of 8 women experiences one form of rape at a certain point in their lives (Centrum Seksueel Geweld, 2017). According to Basile, Smith, Breiding, Black, and Mahendra (2014), sexual violence refers to: 'a sexual act that is committed or attempted by another person without freely given consent of the victim or against someone who is unable to consent or refuse' (p. 11). The term 'rape' refers to a form of sexual violence which involves involuntary intercourse or penetration (Lawyer, Resnick, Bakanic, Burkett, & Kilpatrick, 2010). According to DuMont, Miller, and Myhr (2003), it is commonly thought that a 'real' rape is an act committed by a stranger who most likely carries a weapon and attacks the victim in an abandoned place while the victim is physically injured and tries to resist. Nevertheless, this stereotypical form of rape is often not what happens in reality (McKimmie, Masser, & Bongiorno, 2014). Nowadays the opposite of stereotypical rape, so called non-stereotypical rape, is a frequent studied subject in the research field of victimology. Non-stereotypical rape is considered a rape that deviates from a stereotypical rape by differences in assumed offender and victim characteristics that are typically addressed to 'real' rape scenarios (DuMont et al., 2003). Lots of information can be found about various forms of non-stereotypical rape cases for example: acquaintance rape, male rape and date rape. The current study is also focused on a form of non-stereotypical rape namely: prostitute rape. Not much research has been done about this form of non-stereotypical rape and therefore it is interesting to examine how people react when they are confronted with rape victims working in prostitution. Moreover, the Netherlands' laws regarding prostitution are unique in the world. Back in 1985 The World Charter for Prostitutes' Rights was established in Amsterdam with the ultimate aim to decriminalize all adult-related prostitution (Vanwesenbeeck, 2011). The most important reason for decriminalizing working in prostitution was that it should be considered a free choice. This unique and in some way progressive approach might contribute to different views on prostitution compared to other countries which possibly have a considerably more conservative view on prostitution. In addition, research from Stack, Adamczyk, and Cao (2010) suggests that countries containing high levels of self-expressionism, which is accurate for the Netherlands, are more likely to tolerate prostitution as it is considered an alternative way of living. Therefore, the current is even more interesting as it is conducted in the Netherlands. However, while a free choice for working in prostitution can be considered as accepting and respecting one's choice, it is worth mentioning that working in prostitution is most often not voluntary due to factors like physical force, violence, coercion

and human trafficking (Pajnik, 2013). Further on, when comparing numbers of rape victims, research regarding raped prostitutes suggests that prostitute rape rates are higher than average rape rates (DuMont & McGregor, 2004). According to Penfold, Hunter, Campbell, and Barham (2004), rape victims working in prostitution experience more violence during a rape and because of that victims often suffer from more severe injuries (Kennedy, 2013). These findings make it even more unfortunate that there is a lack of research involving rape victims working in prostitution. Especially as it is known that experiencing a rape comes with a wide range of consequences for the victim which includes physical injuries like bruises and broken bones and mental health problems like anxiety and a post-traumatic stress disorder (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). According to Zinzow et al. (2010), victims of rape are more also more likely to develop a lifetime depression and a post-traumatic stress disorder compared to the general population. Other research suggests that raped women working in prostitution show even higher depression rates compared to other rape victims (Burnette et al., 2008). Additionally, suicide attempts are not uncommon in this particular population (Burnette et al., 2008). Also, Matthews (2015) argues that prostitutes are at higher risk of becoming subjected to multiple victimization and repeat victimization, whereas the first refers to the range of various victimization categories and the latter to the frequency of becoming a victim of a certain crime. These factors are of crucial importance in distinguishing women working in prostitution from other vulnerable groups as they experience a broad range of victimization combined with an extremely high level of repeated victimization (Matthews, 2015). Regarding all those potential negative consequences, specific victim needs resulting from comprehensive and immediate victim needs assessments seem to be required and are of crucial importance in order to help raped prostitutes to recover and to reintegrate back into society. These particular needs refer for example to immediate mental healthcare, immediate physical healthcare and legal assistance (Hemmings et al., 2016). While earlier research has been focused on the consequences of both rape and prostitution and even raped prostitutes, not many research has done regarding observer reactions towards raped prostitutes. Therefore, in the current study, the role of victim blaming, empathy and attitudes towards prostitution will be examined with the purpose to gain more insight in observer reactions towards raped prostitutes using an experimental format combined with a short literature review which provides a legal framework in order to discuss the role of legislation regarding prostitution.

Secondary victimization

As previously mentioned, rape victims working in prostitution have to deal with a lot of negative consequences when they have experienced a rape. Additionally, they are also prone to several negative consequences when they report a rape and during prosecution. An important consequence that many rape victims working in prostitution have to deal with is that they are at higher risk of becoming a victim of the criminal justice system, which refers to the phenomenon of so called secondary victimization (Sullivan, 2007). According to Sullivan (2007), raped prostitutes are more likely to be not believed or doubted regarding their victimization, to experience inappropriate questioning by the police and their cases have high chances of resulting in acquittal (Sullivan, 2007). Further on, secondary victimization is partly responsible for rape being an enormous underreported crime. According to Belknap (2010), considering women rape cases, only an estimated 8% to 10% is reported to the police. Regarding rape victims working in prostitution, report rates seem to be even lower as these victims seem to face even higher risks on experiencing difficulties when reporting (Sullivan, 2007). According to Sullivan (2007), there are various reasons for not reporting a rape and many of them do involve factors that refer to secondary victimization (Sullivan, 2007). To start with, the chance of charging a perpetrator is very low and convicting rates appear to be even lower. Research shows that rape cases that are typically viewed to be credible by law enforcements are more likely to be prosecuted, which seems to be disadvantageous for raped prostitutes (Patterson, 2011). Interestingly, interviews held by Banach (1999) show that prostitutes themselves claim not to report a rape as they fear to be charged with prostitution, which is illegal in many countries. Several studies show that this actually happens in practice. Banach (1999) reported that many prostitutes in Australia were arrested while reporting a rape and Farley and Kelly (2000) argue that US law enforcements are more focused on arresting prostitutes rather than arresting pimps and perpetrators raping a prostitute. Further on, Weiss (2010) suggests that many victims of rape decide not to report the crime due to shame. These feelings of shame are motivated by victim thoughts that raped women are less desirable, lost their dignity and value and will be seen as disgraced and damaged. In addition, it is commonly believed that it is a woman's own responsibility to protect herself against sexual violations (Weiss, 2010). These thoughts, myths and false beliefs are based on traditional gender roles and contribute to the reality that rape victims are often blamed for the victimization rather than the perpetrator (Weiss, 2010). While this seems to be the case for all victims of rape, prostitutes

might be even more likely to be blamed as they are perceived to be less desirable, valueless without dignity, disgraced and damaged even if a rape did not occur.

Victim blaming

Assigning blame towards a victim refers to the phenomenon of victim blaming which in rape cases can be described as shifting the blame for a rape from the offender towards the victim (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010). The blaming of victims for their own victimization is based on the attribution of responsibility which refers to various factors that influence the amount of accountability towards victims for their own victimization (Whatley, 1996). According to Grubb and Harrower (2008), the attribution of responsibility does not only contain victim characteristics, but it also includes observer characteristics. Victim characteristics refer for example to characteristics like attractiveness of the victim and how revealingly a victim is dressed. On the other side, observer characteristics are for example: gender differences in observers, attitudes towards the type of rape and the likeness of identification with the victim. Research regarding victim blaming suggests that most studies found that women are less likely to assign blame towards rape victims compared to men (Grubb & Harrower, 2008). Inconsistent results are found concerning the type of rape and the attribution of blame. Bell, Kuriloff, and Lottes (1994) found that observers assigned more blame towards rape victims that knew the rapist, whereas Calhoun, Selby, and Warring (1976) measured that more blame was assigned towards victims of stranger rape. Also, people with a more traditional view on gender roles are more likely to blame victims for a rape (Rollero & Tartaglia, 2019). Furthermore, literature suggests that identification with a rape victim can decrease the assigning of blame towards a victim (Grubb & Harrower, 2008). When considering the victim blaming of raped prostitutes, Moriarty (2008) suggests that these victims are viewed to be self-victimizing individuals as they are engaged in sexual acts and behavior in exchange for money. Moriarty (2008) argues self-victimizing victims to be at the highest level of victim blaming as the degree of self-involvement is perceived to be high and the degree of actively preventing one's own victimization to be low. In sum, raped prostitutes are often blamed for being a rape victim as they are expected to chose themselves to be involved in sexual services against payment and are considered to act in non-preventive manners.

Empathy

Empathy plays a significant role in assigning blame and responsibility towards victims of rape. According to Barnett and Mann (2013) empathy can be defined as: 'cognitive and emotional understanding of another's experience, resulting in an emotional response that is

congruent with a view that others are worthy of compassion and respect and have intrinsic worth' (p. 230). Research suggests that people have more empathy for rape victims when observers can identify themselves with the victim (Kleinke & Meyer, 1990). Especially women show more empathy for a rape victim if they can identify themselves more with the victim. This suggests that it might be true that identification with the victim increases empathy, because victims of rape are most often women (Buddie & Miller, 2001). Lastly, Barnett, Tetreault, Esper, and Bristow (1986) suggest that people are also more likely to have more empathy for a rape victim when they have experienced a similar event themselves.

Victim credibility. According to Cohn, Dupuis, and Brown (2009), the perception of a rape is influenced by the amount of empathy and victim credibility. For example, a non-traditional victim of rape, a prostitute, is often perceived to be less credible and additionally receives less empathy compared to a traditional victim of rape (i.e. a virgin) (Hebert, 2013). Research suggests that the lack of credibility is related to a lack of compassion which might indicate that empathy is involved in the relation between credibility and raped prostitutes (Taylor & Gassner, 2010). Further on, both empathy for a victim and victim credibility are shaped by the idea of the 'ideal victim' created by Nils Christie (1986). According to Christie, the ideal victim is weak in relation to the offender, legitimate and minding every day and ordinary business, blameless, unrelated to the offender and does not know him. Additionally, the offender is assumed to be unambiguously big and bad. Prostitutes do not meet the requirements to be a 'real victim' as they are often not assumed to be blameless, legitimate and it might be assumed that they are more likely to know their offender. Furthermore, prostitutes are at higher risk of not being believed and taken seriously due to the nature of their job, especially when no injuries are visible (Sullivan, 2007). While a stereotypical rape is already hard to prove, several cases suggest that if a victim who works in prostitution succeeds to pursue a report it is even harder to prove that a rape actually occurred (Sullivan, 2007). Rape victims working in prostitution are often seen as 'commonly available' to men and are assumed to always give consent regarding sexual activities and for this reason it is assumed that they cannot be raped. What makes it even worse is that the accused men sometimes have the opportunity to submit evidence that proves that the woman is a prostitute and thus commonly available, which undermines the credibility of the raped woman and therefore results in an acquittal of the charges (Sullivan, 2007). Furthermore, even the presence of physical evidence is not enough to increase credibility of a victim, especially in ambiguous cases like raped prostitutes, whereas the physical evidence does not prove that coercion or force has occurred (Venema, 2016).

Another difficulty suggested by police officers is said to be the principle of 'reasonable doubt' which is already an obstacle in regular rape cases but is even more problematic in ambiguous rape cases as these cases are hard to prove. Other important factors mentioned by police officers regarding empathy and credibility of rape victims working in prostitution are: considering the sexual act to be consensual, the possibility of consensual sex ending up in regret, a lack of 'true fear' and the absence of injuries (Venema, 2016). Furthermore, research done by Hebert (2013) suggests that police officers working in sex crime units have more empathy for rape victims and are more likely to have a higher belief in victim credibility compared to regular police officers. Nevertheless, research also suggests that police officers assign low victim credibility to victims who have had a previous sexual relationship with their rapist (Jordan, 2001). This suggests that raped prostitutes are less believed when they report a rape as it is their job to have sexual intercourse, possibly with the offender.

The low levels of victim credibility of non-stereotypical rape victims are alarming as this might lead to the underreporting of such crimes, especially raped prostitutes as credibility issues can contribute to a belief that reporting a rape is not worth the damage. When reflecting these findings on observers of rape victims working in prostitution, it might be possible that people do not identify themselves with a victim working in prostitution as it is a job that most people do not admire and that prostitutes are not perceived to be the ideal victim. This possible lack of identification with the victim combined with assumed accountability and responsibility might lead to less empathy and credibility and assigning more blame towards raped prostitutes.

Rape myths

According to Weiss (2010), it is important to acknowledge that the definition of rape is shaped by gender, traditions and social roles which differs and depends over time, country and context. For example, earlier statutes used outdated definitions of rape which included 'sexual intercourse with a female, not his wife, by force and against her will' (Weiss, 2010, p. 287). This definition is problematic as it excluded spouses of rapists from being a victim, suggests that only men can be rapists and that only women can be victims. Even though laws are adjusted nowadays, myths and traditional views about gender and sexuality are still influencing people's view on who can or cannot be raped (Weiss, 2010). According to Miller and Schwartz (1995), it is a common thought that prostitutes cannot be raped because it is their job to have sexual intercourse with others. One can consider this thought to be a rape myth. According to Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994), rape myths can be defined as 'attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held' (p. 134). These myths contribute to justifying -and

denying sexual aggression of men against women (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Rape victims are often blamed for their misfortune and it is often assumed that the rape is deserved (Van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2002). According to Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994), the function of a rape myth is to protect 'the belief in a just world'. This so called 'just world theory' suggests that people feel the need to believe that rape only happens to bad people who deserve the rape and that it will not happen to themselves. Nevertheless, this is a false belief which helps people to create a false sense of security. Rape can happen to everyone and is not bound by its victims. Furthermore, McMahon and Farmer (2011) suggest that there are four main rape myths: 1) she asked for it, 2) he did not mean to, 3) it was not really rape and 4) she lied. While the current study is exclusively focused on female victims of rape, it is important to be aware that rape myths can also involve men. Examples of men orientated rape myths are: man cannot be raped, only gay men are victims/perpetrators of male rape and a 'real' man can defend himself against rape (Turchik & Edwards, 2012). Next, rape myths regarding prostitutes refer to thoughts like prostitutes cannot be raped, no harm is done when a prostitute is raped, raping a prostitute is justified because the victims is a prostitute and all prostitutes are the same (Miller & Schwartz, 1995). Regarding prostitute rape, the rape myth 'it was not really rape' is very similar to 'prostitutes cannot be raped' as it denies that a rape has actually happened by blaming the victim and/or justifying the offender. Attribution of responsibility in this case refers to the victim being held accountable for the rape based on being a prostitute or denying a rape and justifying the act because the victim is a prostitute who cannot be raped. According to Cotton, Farley, and Baron (2002), prostitute rape myths justify the existence of prostitution, promote incorrect information about prostitution and they contribute to harm and exploitation of all women by creating false beliefs. While one might think that prostitutes cannot be raped, working in prostitution makes women even more vulnerable to become a victim of rape (Pauw & Brener, 2003). For example, prostitutes work late at night which increases the risk of becoming a rape victim.

Rape myth acceptance. In literature, holding up to the false beliefs of rape myths is called rape myth acceptance. Rape myth acceptance can for example refer to a denial for a particular event to be recognized as rape. For example, literature suggests that rape is not generally recognized to be rape when the victim did not resist or did not resist enough (Krulowitz & Nash, 1979). Another common thought refers to the belief that force or weapons are involved in every rape scenario (Estrich, 1987). These thoughts are considered rape myths on their own, but they can also contribute to accepting other rape myths. An important factor in

rape myth acceptance includes gender differences. In most studies it is found that men are more likely to accept a rape myth (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). According to Peterson and Muehlenhard (2004), the function of a rape myth differs between men and women. Rape myths are used by men to justify or deny sexual violence of men against women and the function of accepting rape myths for women refers to denying personal vulnerability of becoming a rape victim themselves. Studies suggest that higher rape myth acceptance is positively correlated to more victim blaming (Van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2002). The relation between rape myth acceptance and victim blaming makes sense as both constructs are based on the attribution of responsibility (Whatley, 1996). Results of research done by Whatley (1996) suggest that respondents assigned more responsibility to rape victims when the victim was attractive and dressed more revealingly. According to the study of Seligman, Brickman, and Koulack (1977), an attractive woman is more likely to be a victim of rape because her beauty triggers a rapist to perform the act of rape. On the other hand, observers also expected that unattractive women act more provocatively and therefore can be held more responsible for being a rape victim. These findings suggest that attractiveness of the victim seems to play a role in assigning responsibility for a rape, but it also seems to be based on different motives.

Rape myths and the criminal justice system. The existence of rape myths and traditional views about gender and sexuality influencing people's view on rape victims is problematic for rape victims (Weiss, 2010). Especially when a victim wants to report a crime but is confronted with a person judging one's accountability. However, this is what actually happens to non-stereotypical rape victims reporting a rape. While the criminal justice system should be equal and fair for everybody, not all victims of rape are treated that way. As previously mentioned, prostitutes experience several difficulties regarding the report of a rape. These difficulties are based on certain prejudices towards the victim and reasons for not reporting. Solving the issue of prejudices towards raped prostitutes in the criminal justice system might seem simple, police officers should take every alleged rape case seriously and should treat every alleged victim equal, regardless of the circumstances and victim characteristics. Nevertheless, in practice this is not as easy as it seems. For example, a rape myth within the criminal justice system refers to the assumption that false allegations of rape are considered to be a huge problem (Belknap, 2010). While prostitutes experience lots of issues regarding credibility, one might consider a prostitute reporting a rape to be motivated based on false allegations. Nevertheless, approximately only 0.005% is estimated to be a false allegation of rape based on community samples (Belknap, 2010). These numbers suggest that it is very

unlikely for women, and thus also for prostitutes, to report a rape based on false allegations. Additionally, research from Dellinger Page (2010) suggests that police officers were more likely to doubt allegations of rape by non-stereotypical rape victims, primarily prostitutes, compared to stereotypical rape victims. Furthermore, interviews that Venema (2016) held with police officers in the Netherlands show that even though police officers themselves suggest that procedures and responses regarding rape victims are similar in every case, they also describe how they response differently when an allegation is considered to be suspicious. According to Venema (2016), these results explain that police officers make use of classification systems based on various factors that expect a case to be 'clearly false', 'clearly legitimate' or 'ambiguous' (Venema, 2016). These findings are alarming as thoughts about factors that provide this classification system, - for example weapon use, knowing the offender, victim resistance and the severity of injuries, - do not reflect reality (Venema, 2016). Furthermore, Farley and Kelly (2000) argue that harm due to prostitution is invisible as observers and clients are often not confronted with the actual harm. Most people only see a woman smiling and willing to have sex and therefore think that working in prostitution is a free choice.

Attitudes towards prostitution, not only by police but also by regular citizens, and the invisibleness of harm due to prostitution both contribute to prejudices and low credibility regarding raped prostitutes as one might believe that prostitutes always want to have sex, no harm is done if a prostitute is raped and even worse prostitutes are unrapable- only because they work in prostitution. Police officers report that prostitutes lack credibility and sympathy as they do not meet the criteria of an 'innocent' victim. Obviously, every victim should be treated equally with respect to their victimization and difficulties for raped prostitutes should be solved. In sum, although numbers do not support the prejudice and credibility issues regarding raped women and prostitutes, it seems hard to conquer these obstacles in reporting a rape, especially by a prostitute, if these prejudices and credibility issues continue to exist.

Prostitution

Prostitution is often mentioned to be the oldest profession in history as records date back to 2400BC (Bowen, 2013). The definition of prostitution refers to 'making oneself available to perform sexual acts with another person against payment' wherein a prostitute refers to 'someone who makes him or herself available to perform sexual acts with another person against payment' (Daalder, 2015, p. 7). According to Sallmann (2010), working in prostitution can lead to negative consequences like discrimination, stigmatization, social exclusion and violence. A common mentioned critique regarding prostitution refers to performing the job

voluntarily or involuntarily, whereas the first is associated with a free choice and the latter with physical force, violence, coercion and human trafficking (Pajnik, 2013). While prostitution is often perceived to be either voluntary or non-voluntary, question marks can be placed regarding working voluntarily in prostitution. Pajnik (2013) suggests that a 'free choice' regarding to working in prostitution is rare and that almost all prostitutes are driven by poor economic or social circumstances, alcohol abuse, low education and family violence. According to Matthews (2015), many women working in prostitution are under pressure, threatened and intimidated by their pimps or other persons involved. For example, prostitutes might be involved and pressured into sexual acts that they dislike themselves or experience difficulties regarding condom and drug use. Some scientists, feminists and other groups argue that working in prostitution can never be considered a voluntary choice (Weitzer, 2010). An important paradigm regarding this view is the so called oppression paradigm which suggests that clients buy women instead of making use of a sexual service and that prostitution is something that is done to women and cannot be a voluntary choice (Weitzer, 2010).

As mentioned before, prostitutes seem to face lots of difficulties while reporting a rape. They are less believed and less taken seriously even though they are the ones who are at higher risk of negative consequences, secondary victimization, repeat and multiple victimization and belong to a vulnerable group (Sullivan, 2007; Matthews, 2015; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006; Zinzow et al., 2010; Burnette et al., 2008). The issue regarding voluntarily vs. non-voluntarily working in prostitution, the possible lack of identification with rape victims working in prostitution and the low levels of credibility compared to other victims of rape make it interesting to study the relation between empathy, victim blaming, attitudes towards prostitution and rape victims working in prostitution. Lastly, although rape myth acceptance and victim blaming go hand in hand, rape myths and its acceptance will not be taken into account regarding the experiment as the main focus of this study refers to secondary victimization, victim blaming and the lack of empathy regarding raped prostitutes rather than the belief in certain rape myths.

Current study

The current study will be conducted in order to complete a master thesis for the master Victimology and Criminal Justice in which victims and the criminal justice system are central. To conduct a study in this multidisciplinary field, observer reactions towards non-stereotypical rape victims, prostitutes, and legislation regarding prostitution lay at heart of the current study. In the research field of victimology various research has been done involving non-stereotypical victims of rape and the criminal justice system. However, even though research suggests that

rape rates are higher for victims working in prostitution (DuMont & McGregor, 2004; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006) and that these victims are at higher risk of several negative consequences (Penfold et al., 2004; Kennedy, 2013; Zinzow et al., 2010; Burnette et al., 2008; Matthews, 2015; Sullivan, 2007), not much research has been done regarding observer reactions towards this form of non-stereotypical rape. To gain more knowledge about this relationship, the current study is focused on the observer effects of empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution when confronted with a raped prostitute. While some research has been conducted regarding empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution, this study is innovative and differs from previous research as various conditions, differing in victim characteristics regarding prostitution, are fundamental in the experiment. Especially the difference between rape victims voluntarily vs. non-voluntarily working in prostitution might be interesting as observer reactions regarding this particular distinction have not been investigated yet. The research question regarding this study is: To what extent do people show empathy and assign blame towards raped prostitutes and how is this related to a positive or negative attitude towards prostitution? In this study it will be examined if people show more empathy and assign more blame towards a rape victim working in prostitution compared to a rape who does not work in prostitution at all. Another comparison will be made between a raped prostitute voluntarily working in prostitution and a rape victim not voluntarily working in prostitution. Also gender differences in empathy towards rape victims working in prostitution, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution will be examined. Furthermore, a short literature review will be provided wherein Dutch laws regarding prostitution will be discussed. As mentioned before, raped prostitutes are at higher risk of facing various negative consequences after a rape which includes reporting the crime. While a lack of credibility and empathy contribute to difficulties regarding reporting a rape by non-stereotypical rape victims, it is important to investigate the role of legislation. Results of the current study might contribute to an innovative approach that is able to tackle difficulties with regard to victims of rape, whether or not working in prostitution.

Although voluntariness regarding prostitution can be doubted in reality, in the current experiment it is expected that the voluntary aspect related to working in prostitution might influence the role of empathy and blame towards rape victims working in prostitution. Therefore, three categories of rape victims have been made. The first category includes a rape victim that voluntarily works in prostitution and chose herself to do so, the second category involves a rape victim that works in prostitution because she is forced by a lover boy and the

last category includes a rape victim that does not work in prostitution (control condition). The rape victim in this category involves a hairdresser to examine if there will be a different effect between rape victims working in prostitution vs. rape victims not working in prostitution at all. The experiment also includes the role of attitudes towards prostitution as this might be an interesting factor in observer reactions towards non-stereotypical rape.

As previously mentioned, one of the vignettes used in this study will be based on a rape victim working in prostitution forced by a lover boy. The term 'lover boy' might need some explanation. In the Netherlands, the term lover boy refers to a pimp who wins over girls or young women using seductive tactics with the ultimate goal of exploiting the girl into prostitution (Korvinus, van Dijk, Koster, & Smit, 2005). In short: a lover boy seduces his victim with gifts and starts a relationship with her that becomes sexual quickly. During this relationship the lover boy gradually convinces his victim to have sexual intercourse with his friends or others. The lover boy uses emotional manipulation, force and violence to eventually exploit his victim into prostitution (Korvinus et al., 2005).

Hypotheses

Based on the previous mentioned research question and provided information, hypotheses have been made. According to hypothesis one, it is expected that less empathy is shown and more blame is assigned towards a raped woman that works in prostitution compared to a raped woman that does not work in prostitution at all. This expectation is based on the attribution of responsibility indicating that raped prostitutes will be held more accountable for their victimization. Based on the previously mentioned reason regarding hypothesis one, it is also expected that people are more likely to show more empathy and assign less blame towards rape victims that work in prostitution when a lover boy is involved. This also means that it is expected that less empathy is shown and more blame is assigned towards rape victims who voluntarily work in prostitution. It might be a common thought that people have more empathy for rape victims who do not work voluntary in prostitution, because they did not want to have such a job in the first place. Besides, Smith, Keating, Hester, and Mitchell (1976) found that a topless/bottomless dancer was held more responsible for a rape than a nun was. They also suggested that identification and respect play a part in this. It might be possible that people identify themselves less with voluntarily working prostitutes and that they respect them less. This expectation is considered hypothesis two. Next, hypothesis three is that women are more likely to show more empathy and assign less blame to all rape scenarios compared to men. Whatley (1996) found that men are more likely to blame victims of rape and that blame

increases based on how revealingly the victim is dressed. Concerning the current study and the attribution of responsibility and blame, one might think that men will blame prostitutes even more for being a rape victim as it is assumed that they are revealingly dressed. Next, previous research suggests that rape myth acceptance and victim blaming are related to certain attitudes towards prostitution. According to Cotton et al., (2002), the belief that prostitutes cannot be raped is associated with the support of prostitution. In this study justifying the existence and supporting prostitution refers to a positive attitude towards prostitution which explains the existence and supply and demand of prostitution (Jakobsson & Kotsadam, 2011). In contradiction, a more negative attitude refers to a disapproval of prostitution and leads to a decrease in supply and demand due to an increased negative stigma (Jakobsson & Kotsadam, 2011). Earlier findings suggest that men are more likely to support the existence of prostitution because it helps men with their sexual needs (Cotton et al., 2002). This thought might suggest that prostitutes do their job to satisfy men and that it is impossible to be raped when working in prostitution which in turn leads to hypothesis four. This hypothesis states that men are more likely to have a more positive attitude towards prostitution. Results of the study from Cotton et al. (2002), suggesting that blaming a raped prostitute is more common in men, combined with the prediction that men have less empathy for all rape victims and the expectation that men are more likely to have a positive attitude towards prostitution resulted in the fifth hypothesis which is that people having a more positive attitude towards prostitution are expected to have less empathy and assign more blame towards rape victims working in prostitution.

- H1: People show less empathy and more victim blame towards victims of rape that work in prostitution compared to victims of rape that do not work in prostitution at all.
- H2: People show less empathy and more victim blame towards rape victims voluntarily working in prostitution compared to victims working in prostitution forced by a lover boy.
- H3: Women generally show more empathy and attribute less blame towards all rape victims compared to men.
- H4: Men are more likely to have a more positive attitude towards prostitution compared to women.
- H5: People having a more positive attitude towards prostitution show less empathy and assign more blame towards victims of rape.

Literature review – Prostitution in law

While both victimization and the criminal justice system are crucial factors in the multidisciplinary field of victimology, the following literature review will integrate those two factors by discussing rape rates, prostitution and its legislation. When considering rape rates, it might not come as a surprise that it is one of the most underreported crimes to the police (Reinders, 2006). This underreporting can be based on different motives like fear of the offender, shame and a lack of trust in the criminal justice system (Lea, Callaghan, Grafton, Falcone, & Shaw, 2016). While stereotypical rape is already underreported, it seems likely that non-stereotypical rape is even more underreported. This might especially be the case for rape victims working in prostitution. When analyzing rates of sexual violence it seems that women working in prostitution contain higher rates of rape compared to the general population (DuMont & McGregor, 2004). Results from Taylor and Gassner (2010) suggest that the rape of prostitutes is underreported due to a lack of compassion and a lack of credibility which implicates that raped prostitutes are at high risk of secondary victimization. Venema (2016) already stated that police officers use classification systems when interviewing an alleged victim of rape and they respond differently when they assume an allegation to be suspicious. These critical findings implicate that research is crucial in order to provide equal justice for every alleged victim. A short literature review will investigate the motivations behind prostitution laws in an attempt to answer the question: How is prostitution related legislation related to certain attitudes towards prostitution? To examine this question, the role of Dutch legislation regarding prostitution and the Nordic model of prostitution will be discussed with the ultimate aim of gaining more insight in the role of law enforcements and legislation regarding prostitution.

As mentioned before, rape is an underreported crime and in addition, approximately 43.3% of reports results in an arrest or detaining of the offender and only 37% results in prosecution (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006). The same research suggests that only 47.7% of all victims was satisfied about how their case was handled by the police. Next, research suggests that approximately 62-85% of all women working in prostitution have been raped at least once (Parriott, 1994; Farley, Baral, Kiremire, and Sezgin, 1998). Furthermore, Hunter (1994) reports that it is not unusual for prostitutes to be raped regularly and found that some prostitutes reported to be raped once a week on average. The victimization of raped prostitutes is considered a universal problem (Farley et al., 1998), but while the current study is conducted in the Netherlands and because of the unique Dutch legislation and view on prostitution, this

literature review will provide a legal framework involving prostitution related legislation of this country solely.

Legalizing prostitution

Back in 1999 prostitution became legal in the Netherlands (Outshoorn, 2012). This unique approach was mostly based on providing a free choice for deciding to work in prostitution and to implement employment rights (Kilvington, Day, & Ward, 2001). Due to the legalization a distinction between non-voluntary prostitution and voluntary prostitution has been made and brothels were no longer illegal. The two aims of the law were 1) legalization of voluntary prostitution and 2) increasing sanctions against people involved in organizing involuntary prostitution (Kilvington et al., 2001). According to Outshoorn (2012), evaluations in 2001, regarding legalizing prostitution back in 1999- show that the legalization led to a shift between licensed and non-licensed prostitutes working in the Netherlands. The first group consisted mainly of Dutch or other European prostitutes and the latter consisted of Eastern European or Western African prostitutes working illegally in various sex related circumstances like saunas, bars and clubs but also in brothels and streets. Legalizing prostitution ensured that licensed prostitutes gained full social, legal and employment rights (Kilvington et al., 2001). However, the non-licensed prostitutes still had to deal with pimps and coercion and minors were found to be not an exception. Evaluations in 2005 showed that rights of prostitutes were not improved and that pimps and forced prostitution were still present (Outshoorn, 2012; Kilvington et al., 2001). Also, demand for legal prostitution in brothels decreased while the demand for illegal prostitution increased. Furthermore, in 2008 the discovery of a huge sexual exploitation case became big news in the Netherlands. Three traffickers were arrested as they forced at least 78 victims into prostitution (Outshoorn, 2012). Reports show examples of the inhumane treatment of these victims like forced tattooing, forced abortion and forced cosmetic surgery. When thinking about these extreme situations the question might arise why victims do not file charges against the offenders. Reports concerning the previously mentioned case suggest that victims do not report to the police as they fear to be deported and that they are afraid of their pimps (Outshoorn, 2012). Additionally, the report also indicates that the police prefers cases that are more easily to prove and are less time consuming. Lastly, results also suggest that police officers are worried about the collaboration with the victims. These reasons for not reporting the crime indicate that an alternative approach might be needed.

Criminalizing the client

Weiss (2010) already stated that myths and traditional ideas regarding gender and sexuality are still influencing views on rape victims. Due to these factors, victims of rape, and to an even bigger extent raped prostitutes, are often blamed and are assumed to be responsible for the rape. Would this be different if blame is shifted from the victims towards the rapist? In 2009 the Dutch parliament introduced 'The law regulating prostitution and suppressing abuse in the sex industry', with the purpose to have more control on the sex industry and to combat human trafficking and sexual exploitation (Outshoorn, 2012). In practice this meant that prostitutes had to be registered, the legal age of working in prostitution raised from 18 to 21 and clients had the responsibility to check whether a prostitute is registered or not. In 2014, an adjustment of the previously mentioned law was heavily debated. The aim of the adjustment was to criminalize prostitute clients if there is enough suspicion that the prostitute is not voluntarily working in prostitution (Tweede kamer der Staten-Generaal, 2014). The approach of criminalizing the client is also known as 'The Nordic model of prostitution' as it is implemented in countries like Sweden, Norway, Iceland and Finland (Kingston & Thomas, 2018). According to Kingston and Thomas (2018), all these countries experienced a decrease in demand after implementing laws concerning criminalizing clients of prostitutes. Also, street prostitution was found to be significantly reduced. However, another result of the implementation of the model was that prostitution became more underground as prostitutes tried to avoid sanctions. Despite that prostitution became more underground, the biggest achievement of the implementation according to Kilvington et al. (2001) was that perceiving prostitutes to be victims rather than criminals, which lays at heart of the Nordic model, has been crucial as the approach improved collaboration between law enforcements, the police, social services and prostitutes themselves. This improved collaboration resulted in a decrease of secondary victimization as police officers used a more sensitive treatment regarding prostitutes, social services became widely available and prostitutes were more daring to report a crime (Kilvington et al., 2001).

In the Netherlands criminalizing clients is only partly discussed as clients can still visit prostitutes that one expects to voluntarily work in prostitution. Obviously, it is difficult for a client to recognize if a prostitute is involuntarily working in prostitution and it is unclear if such a law contributes to a decrease of rape rates regarding prostitutes. Nevertheless, the motivation of the so called Nordic model might influence people's perception on gender roles. The Nordic model views prostitution to be a result of men's oppression of women which is in line with the

oppression paradigm that doubts prostitution to be voluntary. Even though it is unclear if adjusting the law might contribute to a decrease of prostitute rape rates, it might contribute to society gaining a new perception on gender roles and stereotypes. According to Suarez and Gadalla (2010), rape education programs can play a significant role to achieve this. While past and current rape education programs seem to achieve only short-term results, future programs should be focused on rape myths, sexism, stereotypical gender roles, sexuality and sexual health in order to educate the general population. While education programs might be helpful, it is unfortunate that it probably will take years to solve this problem as it will not be easy to get rid of negative views on raped women and prostitutes while these persistently false beliefs have been implemented for generations.

Summary

Rape in general, and to an even bigger extent prostitute rape, is an underreported crime (Reinders, 2006). Many prostitutes do not report a rape due to factors like shame, guilt, embarrassment, concerns about confidentiality, fear of not being believed by law enforcements and fear of the perpetrator (Lea et al., 2016; Belknap, 2010). If prostitutes decide to report a rape they are confronted with many difficulties (Sullivan, 2007). These difficulties involve, credibility issues, not receiving empathy, and secondary victimization (Sullivan, 2007; Matthews, 2015; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2006; Zinzow et al., 2010; Burnette et al., 2008). In addition, these factors can contribute to decisions of not reporting a rape as victims might think that it is not worth the consequences. While legalizing prostitution in the Netherlands had its advantages, involuntary prostitution continued to exist (Kilvington et al., 2001; Outshoorn, 2012). The same can be concluded for the Nordic-model as it causes prostitution to go undergrounds (Kilvington et al., 2001; Kingston & Thomas, 2018). However, a crucial factor refers to the thought behind this law. Despite that a free choice of working in prostitution can be perceived to be important, considering prostitutes to be victims rather than criminals might be even more important as research implicates that a free choice for working in prostitution is doubted to exist, perhaps only in small numbers. The thought behind the Nordic-model, prostitutes are victims rather than criminals, might contribute to overcoming myths about gender roles, stereotypes and prejudices and to a cooperation between law enforcements, police and victims. The question if laws should be adjusted as it possibly contributes to a new perspective on these factors should be researched further. Additionally, research seems also to be crucial in order to examine what is necessary to shift blame from victims to offenders, not only with regard to prostitution but also for rape victim, whether they work in prostitution or

not. Hereby, causes of underreport, victim blaming and low credibility and empathy should be taken into account. While the thought of having a free choice for working in prostitution seems progressive, the thought of prostitution being a result of men's oppression of women seems to be even more progressive as myths about gender roles, stereotypes and prejudices still influence people's view on prostitution, victims of rape and especially raped prostitutes.

Method

Participants

Participants of the current study were recruited in the direct environment and a link has been placed on social media. A total of 126 participants completed the questionnaire and the sample consisted of 70 women and 56 men. During analysis some data has been removed due to incorrect answers on the manipulation check ($N = 118$). Some participants did not correctly answer the item regarding Kim's job or/and the item regarding voluntariness of the job. A total of 118 participants were taken into account when analyzing, 68 of them women and 50 of them men with a mean age of 26.42 ($SD_{age} = 9.80$). Education level was measured using scores from 0 (elementary school) to 7 (university) and showed a mean of 5.89 which indicates that the population was highly educated.

Procedure

Before the experiment started, participants had to read an informed consent which included that participation was voluntary and that participants could quit whenever they wanted to (See appendix: Informed consent 1: *English*). Participants were also warned that this study included rape scenarios. Also, participants were informed that data will be pseudonymously processed. After they approved to participate, participants read a vignette in Dutch based on the condition they were in: voluntary prostitution, forced prostitution or control group (See appendix: Vignette 3: *Rape scenario voluntarily working in prostitution – Dutch translation*, Vignette 4: *Rape scenario working in prostitution forced by a lover boy – Dutch translation* and Vignette 5: *Rape scenario control condition – Dutch translation*). Directly after the scenario, two manipulation checks were presented. Participants had to fill in what job Kim performed and if she did this voluntarily or not. Answer options for the first item were: prostitute, hairdresser or teacher and for the second item: voluntary, non-voluntary or I do not know. Next, participants were asked to fill in a self-made online questionnaire using Qualtrics (See appendix: Questionnaire 1: *English*). The questionnaire was divided into three constructs: victim blaming, empathy towards victims and attitudes towards prostitution. The first 23 items

of the constructs victim blaming and empathy towards victims involved statements about Kim, who played the main role in the vignettes. Participants had to score these items on a 5-points Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree). The last 9 items involved statements about prostitution in general and did not refer directly to the vignettes. These items had to be scored on the same 5-points Likert scale. Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three conditions. To prevent order biases, the constructs victim blaming and empathy towards victims were randomized and so were all items within all three of the constructs. The third construct regarding general attitudes towards prostitution always came last as participants were not able to readback the case about Kim. Therefore, it was more efficient to present the two constructs that directly asked about Kim first as it might be easier to remember the case. After participants completed the questionnaire, they were fully debriefed (See appendix: Debriefing 1: *English*).

Measurements

Demographic data. Participants were asked to fill in their age, sex and education level to achieve more insight into the population. Participants were made aware that their answers were pseudonymized.

Vignettes. This study used three conditions to investigate the research question. The three conditions described in the vignettes are: a rape victim working in prostitution forced by a lover boy, a rape victim working voluntarily in prostitution and a rape victim not working in prostitution which is the control condition. The vignette of the rape victim working in prostitution forced by a lover boy was:

'On a cold and dark Friday night in February, Kim walks home after she has been working. Kim works as a prostitute. At the age of 21 she was forced to work in prostitution because she became a victim of a lover boy. She met her lover boy at the age of 18. He promised her a great future together with him if she would earn enough money by working in prostitution. In reality, he abuses her when she does not earn enough money. Meanwhile, Kim turned 26.'

'Kim is cold and therefore she tries to walk as quickly as possible to her home. Nevertheless, she cannot walk that fast as she is wearing high heels. On her way home a man approaches her from behind. Kim smiles at him. She recognizes the man as Jim, who is a frequent client of her when she is at work. Jim asks her if she wants to have a drink with him. In the first instance Kim declines friendly, but after doubting for a bit and the insisting of Jim she decides to go with him for a drink. Together they go to a café and take place at the bar. After drinking 2 wine Kim decides that she wants to go home. She puts on her lipstick and together with Jim she walks to the exit of the café. As Kim shuts the door, she notices that her skirt is stuck in the door. Quickly she frees herself and wants to say goodbye to Jim. At that moment, Jim asks Kim if she wants to have sex with him. Kim tells him that she is not working at the moment and that she wants to go home. When Kim tries to pass Jim, he grabs her and drags her into a small alley. He held

his hand over her mouth when Kim tries to scream. Kim resists but she cannot prevent that Jim has sexual intercourse with her. Before Jim tries to flee the scene he throws a 50 Euro bill at her and yells: 'Here is your money, you whore!'. Without the money, Kim runs to her home and calls the police.'

Each vignette described a rape scenario that fitted the condition (See appendix: Vignette 1: *Rape scenario voluntarily working in prostitution* and Vignette 2: *Rape scenario control condition*). The used vignettes in this study are slightly based on earlier used vignettes in the study from Bell et al. (1994). The vignettes were made to examine the differences in each case by comparing them in victim blaming and empathy towards the victim. Overall the vignettes were the same except that elements specific for each case were manipulated. After each vignette, participants were asked to fill in a questionnaire about victim blaming, empathy towards victims and attitudes towards prostitution.

Questionnaires. To test the hypotheses of this study, the constructs victim blaming, empathy for the rape victim and attitudes towards prostitution are used in a self-made questionnaire based on various existing questionnaires and nine self-made items. The final self-made questionnaire was divided into three categories using three questionnaires. The three categories are the previous mentioned constructs victim blaming, empathy towards victims of rape and attitudes towards prostitution. The three questionnaires that were used to make the questionnaire for this particular study are: The Attitudes Toward Rape Victim Scale (ARVS) invented by Ward (1988), the Rape Empathy Scale (RES) invented by Deitz, Blackwell, Daley, and Bentley (1982) and the Attitudes Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution Scale (APPS) invented by Levin and Peled (2011). A selection of relevant items out of the three existing questionnaires has been used in creating the new questionnaire. Reasons for not using some items refer to the items being outdated, inapplicable regarding raped prostitutes and irrelevant for the particular scenarios. For some items it was possible and necessary to be adjusted to make sure that the correct construct was measured. It might be worth mentioning that every construct is mostly based on one existing questionnaire. Nevertheless, some items seemed to be more fitting for other constructs. Further on, high scores on victim blaming indicates more victim blaming, high scores on empathy indicates little empathy for the victim and high scores on attitudes towards prostitution indicates a more positive attitude towards prostitution. Lastly, while the experiment was conducted in the Netherlands, all items have been translated into Dutch (See appendix: Questionnaire 2: *Dutch translation*).

Victim blaming. The Attitudes Toward Rape Victim Scale has been used to measure victim blaming (ARVS; Ward, 1988). The original ARVS uses a 5-points Likert scale (0 =

strongly disagree and 4 = agree strongly). An example item of the original questionnaire is: 'A raped woman is usually an innocent victim' (reversed). For this study, nine items of the original ARVS were used and have been adjusted as the original questionnaire was not designed to measure victim blaming specific for rape victims working in prostitution. The particular item previously mentioned has been adjusted into: 'Kim is an innocent victim of rape' which is translated into Dutch: 'Kim is een onschuldig slachtoffer van verkrachting'. A total of nine items of the original ARVS have been used to measure victim blaming. The used original items are 3, 6, 8, 12, 13, 16, 19, 22 and 24. Items 3, 8, 19 and 22 of the original questionnaire have been reversed during analysis.

To make it more plausible for participants to 'blame the victim', a total of seven self-made items have been created. These items are: It was a bad idea that Kim went to a café with Jim, Kim seems to be a naïve person, Kim should not have walked alone to her house after she finished working, Kim should not have accepted Jim's invitation, Kim provoked rape by wearing high heels and a skirt, it seems that Kim is not able to estimate risks and Kim could expect that Jim wanted to have sex with her. These items had to be scored on the same 5-points Likert scale. The final variable 'victim blaming' existed of 16 items which had to be scored on a 5-points Likert scale. Calculating Cronbach's alpha showed a result of 0.775 which is an acceptable reliability score. Excluding one or more items did not increase the reliability and therefore no items were removed.

Empathy towards the victim. To measure empathy towards victims of rape, the Rape Empathy Scale has been used (RES; Deitz et al., 1982). This questionnaire contains 19 items and measures empathy towards victims and offenders. An example item of the RES is: 'I would find it easier to imagine how a rape victim might feel during an actual rape than how a rapist might feel' vs. 'I would find it easier to imagine how a rapist might feel during an actual rape than how a rape victim might feel'. The original RES needs to be scored based on the statement which is preferred. The statement of preference is later scored on a 7-points Likert scale (1 = strong preference for the statement and 7 = no preference for the statement). The questionnaire used in this study only included the statement that involved victim empathy. These statements have been adjusted into new items that had to be scored on a 5-points Likert scale. The adjustments were made to distinguish the items from victim blaming items by adding 'I feel/can/would'. Adding the 'I' form was meant to make participants aware of their own feelings towards the victim. A total of six new items were created based on the original items 3, 8, 12, 13 and 17 of the RES. An example of an adjusted item is: 'I would find it easier to

empathize with the shame and humiliation a rape victim might feel during a trial to prove rape than with the feelings a rapist might have during the trial', adjusted into, 'I can empathize with Kim' and translated into 'Ik voel met Kim mee'. Items 8, 12, 13 and 17 have been reversed for analysis. Finally, two self-made items were included in the empathy category. These items are: 'I do not feel sorry for Kim' and 'I feel that Kim is not to blame for the rape', whereby the second item has been reversed. The variable 'empathy' existed of 7 items scaled on the same 5-point Likert scale and had a Cronbach's alpha of 0.615 which is considered a questionable reliability score.

Attitudes towards prostitution. The measurement of negative and positive attitudes towards prostitution was inspired on the Attitudes Toward Prostitutes and Prostitution Scale (APPS; Levin & Peled, 2011). This questionnaire consists of four categories: prostitutes as normative/deviant, prostitutes as choosing/victimized, prostitution as normative/deviant and prostitution as choosing/victimized. The APPS contains 29 items which must be scored on a 5-points Likert scale (1 = fully disagree and 5 = fully agree).

A total of only three items of the original APPS have been used in the current study. Only the categories prostitutes as choosing/victimized and prostitution as choosing/victimized seemed to be relevant. The item of the category prostitutes as choosing/victimized is: item 18 'prostitutes like sex'. The other two items fit the category prostitution as choosing/victimized and are: item 17 'prostitution is a form of violence against women' and item 24 'prostitution is a form of rape in which the victim gets paid'. Item 17 and 24 had to be reversed when analyzing. Also, items 18 and 25 of the ARVS and items 7 and 9 of the RES were included to measure attitudes towards prostitution. The original item 7 of the RES, 'When a woman is working in prostitution, she must be willing to accept the consequences of her behavior, whatever they are, since she is signaling her interest in having sexual relations' has been split up into the two separate items: 'If a woman works in prostitution, she should accept the consequences' and 'If a woman works in prostitution, she shows that she is interested in sexual intercourse' and translated into 'Als een vrouw in de prostitutie werkt zou zij de consequenties hiervan moeten accepteren' and 'Als een vrouw in de prostitutie werkt straalt zij uit dat ze geïnteresseerd is in seksuele interactie. The self-made item, prostitutes cannot be raped, concluded this part of the questionnaire. Lastly, the variable 'attitude' existed of 9 items also scored on a 5-points Likert scale. The Cronbach's alpha was 0.519 which is a quite poor reliability score. Removing item 1 of the questionnaire could increase reliability a bit but not substantially and was therefore not removed.

Statistical analyses

The dependent variables in this experiment are empathy and victim blaming. Attitudes towards prostitution has been used as a control variable while the independent variables refer to the gender of participants and the different conditions used in the study. The age and education level of participants will be used as covariates during analysis as they might effect the results. Data from a total of 118 participants has been analyzed using SPSS 23.0.

Principle Component Analysis. While the questionnaire regarding the experiment is partly based on self-made items, a Principle Component Analysis (PCA) has been executed to examine if there is an obvious division between the self-made items and the items based on original questionnaires. The PCA was executed for the variables blaming, empathy and attitudes towards prostitution but is particularly interesting for the variable 'blaming' as self-made items regarding this variable are especially made to assign more blame towards the victim. Results of the PCA regarding the variable 'blaming' suggest that it is not useful to split up the variable in components before executing an MANCOVA (See appendix: Table 1: *Principle Component Analysis Blaming*.). The outcome shows that the variable exists of six components which is quite a lot for only 16 items. Most importantly, the results do not show an obvious division between self-made and original items. In addition, the six components explain only 69.29% of the variance. Next, a PCA regarding the variable 'empathy' shows that it exists of two components which seems useful, but they only explain 48.55% of the variance (See appendix: Table 2: *Principle Component Analysis Empathy*.). Therefore, it did not seem useful to divide this variable before analyzing the hypotheses. Lastly, a PCA was executed on the variable 'attitude'. Results show that this variable exists of three components (See appendix: Table 3: *Principle Component Analysis Attitude*.). As for the previous variable this seems useful, but these components only explain 63.03% of the variance. Due to the low explained variance regarding all variables and most importantly the inconsistent division between self-made and original items regarding the variable 'blaming', the MANCOVA will be executed based on the original item division.

Hypotheses testing. Hypothesis one was tested using a two-way MANCOVA to determine a statistically significant difference in empathy and victim blaming between the voluntary and forced prostitution conditions and the control condition while controlling for age and education. To test for differences in empathy and victim blaming between the forced prostitution condition and the voluntary prostitution condition, hypothesis two, the same

MANCOVA was used controlled for age and education. A pairwise comparisons test was performed to examine the statistical difference between the conditions. Further on, the same MANCOVA, controlled for age and education, was also used to examine gender differences in both empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution, which refers to hypotheses three and four. Mean differences have been tested using pairwise comparisons to examine the exact difference. Lastly, to test hypothesis five two multiple regression analyses were executed to determine whether attitudes towards prostitution has an effect on empathy and victim blaming again controlled for age and education.

Results

Data from 118 participants has been analyzed. The variables blaming, empathy and attitudes were all significantly correlated with each other. Pearson's correlations for empathy and attitude resulted in $r = .414$ and $p = <.001^*$, empathy and blaming showed a significant correlation of $r = .521$ and $p = <.001^*$ and the correlation between blaming and attitude showed a significant result, $r = .498$ and $p = <.001^*$ (See appendix: Table 4: *Pearson's correlation.*).

Descriptive statistics

Participants were randomly assigned to the three conditions. A total of 42 participants were in the voluntary prostitution condition, 39 were in the forced prostitution condition and 37 were in the control condition. The highest possible score for victim blaming on the questionnaire was 80 and the lowest possible score was 16. In the sample 57 was the highest score and 17 the lowest. The overall mean score was 31.50 ($SD_{victim\ blaming} = 1.17$) Next, the highest possible score for empathy was 35 and the lowest score was 7, in the sample the highest score given was 19 the lowest score 7 and the overall mean score was 9.87 ($SD_{empathy} = 0.49$). Lastly, participants could score 45 at highest and 9 at lowest on the variable attitudes towards prostitution. In the sample 31 was the highest score given and 13 the lowest. Overall the mean score was 20.93 ($SD_{attitude} = 0.61$). Further on, the 42 ($f = 23$ and $m = 19$) participants in the voluntary prostitution condition scored a mean of 21.77 ($SD_{attitudes} = .56$) on attitudes, 34.36 ($SD_{victim\ blaming} = 1.10$) on blaming and 10.30 ($SD_{empathy} = 0.46$) on empathy. Next, the control condition existed of 37 ($f = 16$ and $m = 21$) participants. This condition scored a mean of 21.13 ($SD_{attitudes} = 0.60$) on attitudes, 26.57 ($SD_{victim\ blaming} = 1.17$) on blaming and 9.02 ($SD_{empathy} = 0.47$) on empathy. The forced prostitution condition existed of 39 ($f = 29$ and $m = 10$) participants and scored a mean of 19.89 ($SD_{attitudes} = 0.66$) on attitudes, 33.58 ($SD_{victim\ blaming} =$

1.30) on blaming and 10.29 ($SD_{empathy} = 0.54$) on empathy (See appendix: Table 5: *Descriptive statistics.*).

Assumptions

For the three variables victim blaming, empathy and attitudes towards prostitution, quantile comparison plots were made. The variable attitude is normally distributed, the variable victim blaming is slightly negatively skewed and the variable empathy showed a high positive skewness (See appendix: Figure 1: *Quantile comparison plot empathy*, Figure 2: *Quantile comparison plot victim blaming* and Figure 3: *Quantile comparison plot attitude.*). In addition, boxplots have been made to check for outliers (See appendix: Figure 4: *Boxplot empathy*, Figure 5: *Boxplot victim blaming* and Figure 6: *Boxplot attitude*). For all hypotheses assumptions were checked. Testing the model for hypotheses one, two and three regarding empathy suggested that five cases were considered to be outliers, but the scores were not unusual and were therefore not removed. Testing the assumption of normality with a histogram showed some skewness and a deviation of the line which means that the assumption of normality has been violated. Despite this violation other assumptions have been checked. (See appendix: Figure 7: *Histogram MANCOVA empathy* and Figure 8: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA empathy.*). The assumption of constant variance and linearity have been met as it showed random behaviour. To test the assumption of multi collinearity, which means that no explanatory variable can be a perfect linear function of the other explanatory variables, the variable inflation factor (VIF) was calculated. None of the scores deviated strongly from '1' which means that the assumption has not been violated and VIF scores showed that none of the scores deviated strongly from '1' (See appendix: Figure 9: *Scatterplot MANCOVA empathy* and Table 6: *Variable inflation factor MANCOVA empathy.*). The same assumptions have been tested for all the models. The model for hypotheses one, two and three regarding blaming showed that blaming scores for some participants were very high but not unusual and therefore were not removed. The assumption of normality was clearly met and the assumptions of linearity, constant error variance and multi collinearity have not been violated (See appendix: Figure 10: *Histogram MANCOVA blaming*, Figure 11: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA blaming*, Figure 12: *Scatterplot MANCOVA blaming* and Table 7: *Variable inflation factor MANCOVA blaming.*). The next model, testing hypothesis four regarding the variable attitude, showed that five participants are considered outliers, but their scores were not unusual and were therefore not removed. Additionally, the assumptions of normality, linearity and constant error variance were met and the assumption of multi

collinearity was not violated (See appendix: Figure 13: *Histogram MANCOVA attitude*, Figure 14: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA attitude*, Figure 15: *Scatterplot MANCOVA attitude* and Table 8: *Variable inflation factor MANCOVA attitude*). The model which tested hypothesis five regarding empathy showed that the assumption of normality, linearity and constant error variance have not been violated (See appendix: Figure 16: *Histogram regression empathy*, Figure 17: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot regression empathy* and Figure 18: *Scatterplot regression empathy*). In addition, also the assumption of multi collinearity has been met as scores did not deviated strongly from '1' (See appendix: Table 9: *Variable inflation factor regression empathy*). Lastly, all assumptions have again been tested for hypothesis five regarding blaming. The assumption of normality, linearity and constant error variance have not been violated (See appendix: Figure 19: *Histogram regression blaming*, Figure 20: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot regression blaming* and Figure 21: *Scatterplot regression blaming*). Also, the assumption of multi collinearity has been met as scores did not deviated strongly from '1' (See appendix: Table 10: *Variable inflation factor regression blaming*).

Hypotheses

To test the hypotheses of the experiment a two-way MANCOVA and two multiple regression analyses have been performed. Firstly, the covariates age and education have been analyzed performing a MANCOVA. The covariate age was found not significant as it showed: Wilks's $\Lambda = .990$, $F(3, 114) = .360$, $p = .782$ and partial eta squared = .010. Next, the covariate education was found significant and showed: Wilks's $\Lambda = .912$, $F(3, 114) = 3.474$, $p = .019$ and partial eta squared = .088 (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*). Univariate analysis for education on empathy resulted in $F(1, 110) = .235$ and $p = .570$, blaming resulted in $F(1, 110) = 6.855$ and $p = .010$ and attitude resulted in $F(1, 110) = 7.403$ and $p = .008$ (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*). These results indicate that covariate age did not have significant effect, but that covariate education did have a significant effect regarding the variables blaming and attitude.

The first hypothesis whether people show less empathy and more victim blame towards victims of rape that work in prostitution compared to victims of rape that do not work in prostitution at all has been tested with a MANCOVA. Wilks's Λ showed a significant difference in condition on the dependent variables empathy, blaming and/or attitude ($\Lambda = .707$, $F(3, 114) = 6.829$, $p = <.001$ and partial eta squared = .159) indicating a small effect according to Cohen's guidelines (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*). When analyzing the univariate analysis, it

showed that no significant effect of condition on empathy has been found. The results were: $F(2, 110) = 2.263$, $p = .109$ and partial eta square = .022 meaning that the conditions did not significantly differ in empathy (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*.). However, it might be worth mentioning that pairwise comparisons did suggest a marginal significant mean difference between the conditions on empathy regarding the voluntary prostitution condition and the control condition (Mean difference = 1.275, $p = .058$) (See appendix: Table 12: *Pairwise comparisons condition*.). Further on, significant results were found when analyzing the effect from condition on blaming. Univariate analysis suggested that the conditions significantly differed in victim blaming: $F(2, 110) = 13.485$, $p = <.001$ and partial eta squared = .197 indicating a small effect (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*.). To test if the means of the conditions involving a victim working in prostitution significantly differ from the control condition a pairwise comparison test has been performed. The test suggests that the mean of the control condition ($M = 26.572$, $SD_{\text{controlB}} = 1.173$) significantly differed from the mean of the forced prostitution condition ($M = 33.581$, $SD_{\text{forceB}} = 1.299$) on blaming with a mean difference of 7.008, $p = <.001$ (See appendix: Table 12: *Pairwise comparisons condition*.). Additionally, also the mean of the voluntary prostitution condition ($M = 34.357$, $SD_{\text{volunB}} = 1.099$) differed significantly from the mean of the control condition ($M = 26.572$, $SD_{\text{controlB}} = 1.173$, mean difference = 7.785, $p = <.001$) (See appendix: Table 12: *Pairwise comparisons condition*.). These results suggest that the first hypothesis can be partly supported as condition had no effect on empathy but it did have an effect on blaming. The significant effect of condition on blaming, controlled for age and education, supports the part of the hypothesis that predicts that participants in the conditions which involves a victim working in prostitution are more likely to blame the victim compared to the control condition which did not include a victim working prostitution.

The second hypothesis, which suggests that people show less empathy and more victim blame towards rape victims voluntarily working in prostitution compared to victims working in prostitution forced by a lover boy, has been tested with the same *MANCOVA*. Results already have shown that condition did not have a significant effect on empathy and that the conditions did significantly differ on victim blaming (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA*.). While the first hypothesis can be partly supported as the two prostitution conditions did significantly differ from the control condition, a pairwise comparisons test has been performed to test whether the mean of the two prostitution conditions significantly differed on blaming. Results indicate that no significant difference has been found between the voluntary and forced prostitution

conditions ($M_{\text{volunB}} = 34.357$, $SD_{\text{volunB}} = 1.099$, $M_{\text{forceB}} = 33.581$, $SD_{\text{forceB}} = 1.299$ and the mean difference = .776 and $p = .650$) (See appendix: Table 12: *Pairwise comparisons condition.*). These results indicate that the mean difference of the voluntary and forced prostitution condition did not have an effect on both empathy and victim blaming. Moreover, it seems that the scores of the voluntary and the forced prostitution conditions were quite equal on victim blaming meaning that the involvement of force does not seem to influence the amount of assigned blame.

Next, hypothesis three, which expects that women generally show more empathy and attribute less blame towards all rape victims compared to men, has been tested with the same MANCOVA. Wilks's Λ did show a significant effect from gender on empathy, blaming and/or attitude: $\Lambda = .903$, $F(3, 114) = 3.867$, $p = .011$ and a partial eta squared of .097 indicating a very small effect (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA.*). Univariate analysis showed that gender did not result in a significant effect on the variable empathy: $F(1, 110) = 3.799$, $p = .054$ and partial eta squared = .023 (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA.*). This result suggests that women are not more likely to have more empathy for the victim over all conditions compared to men. Despite that the univariate analysis regarding the effect from gender on empathy was found not significant, the p -value of .054 was marginally significant which makes it worth mentioning that men scored higher on empathy $M = 10.427$ ($SD_{\text{menE}} = .438$) than women $M = 9.312$ ($SD_{\text{womenE}} = .367$) which is an insignificant mean difference of 1.115, $p = .054$ (See appendix: Table 13: *Pairwise comparison gender.*). Interestingly, gender did have a significant effect on the variable victim blaming: $F(1, 110) = 8.675$, $p = .004$ and partial eta squared = .073 suggesting that the effect is very small (See appendix: Table 11: *MANCOVA.*). Men scored a mean of 33.535 ($SD_{\text{menB}} = 1.056$) and women scored a mean of 29.472 ($SD_{\text{womenB}} = .885$). When executing a pairwise comparison the mean difference between gender was found significant controlled for age and education (mean difference = 4.063, $p = .004$) (See appendix: Table 13: *Pairwise comparison gender.*). Overall these results indicate that the third hypothesis can partly be supported as women were more likely to assign less blame to all victims over all conditions compared to men, but they did not show significantly more empathy.

Further on, hypothesis four which states that men are more likely to have a more positive attitude towards prostitution compared to women, has been tested with the same MANCOVA. As mentioned before, multivariate analysis showed that gender did have a significant p -value (.011) for the variables empathy, blaming and/or attitude. As for empathy and blaming, the univariate analysis for the variable attitude has also been analyzed. The results showed: $F(1,$

110) = 9.158, $p = .003$ and partial eta squared is .077 which indicates that the effect is very small (See appendix: Table 11: MANCOVA.). The mean of men was $M = 21.994$ ($SD_{menA} = .054$) and the mean of women was $M = 19.860$ ($SD_{womenA} = .452$). The mean difference was found significant as it was 2.135, $p = .003$ meaning that men scored significantly higher on attitudes towards prostitution compared to women controlled for age and education (See appendix: Table 13: *Pairwise comparison gender.*). The overall result supports hypothesis four and indicates that men are more likely to have a positive attitude towards prostitution.

To examine the fifth hypothesis a multiple regression analysis was executed to determine whether attitude has an effect on empathy when controlled for age and education. The regression was significant when using an α of 0.05 ($F(3, 114) = 8.001$, $p < .001$) with an R^2 of .174 (See appendix: Table 14: Multiple regression analysis empathy.). The results suggest that there is a significant effect of attitude on empathy meaning that on average a one unit increase on attitude results in a .316 unit increase on empathy. Further on, both covariates age $b = .049$, $t = .551$ and $p = .583$ and education $b = .26$, $t = .296$ and $p = .768$ were found not significant (See appendix: Table 14: *Multiple regression analysis empathy.*). Results of the regression analysis indicate that the last hypothesis can be partly supported at least.

A second multiple regression analysis has been executed to test whether attitudes towards prostitution has an effect on blaming, again controlled for age and education. The regression was found significant ($F(3,114) = 13.347$, $p < .001$), with an R^2 of .260 (See appendix: Table 15: *Multiple regression analysis blaming.*). The effect of attitude on blaming was significant, meaning that on average a one unit increase on attitude results in a .970 unit increase on victim blaming. The covariates were again found insignificant: age $b = -.042$, $t = -.499$ and $p = .619$, and education $b = -.116$, $t = -1.345$ and $p = .181$ (See appendix: Table 15: *Multiple regression analysis blaming.*). While the covariates age and education were found insignificant, the significant effect of both empathy and attitude on blaming shows that the fifth hypothesis can be fully supported.

Discussion

When performing the experiment, all necessary care has been taken into account in order to ensure validity and reliability. The study was conducted with a representative Dutch sample ($n = 118$, age = 26.42; $SD = 9.80$), the used questionnaire was mostly based on valid and reliable questionnaires and order biases were limited as items and item constructs were randomized. Out of all five hypotheses, the fourth and fifth hypotheses can be fully supported, the first and

third hypotheses can be partly supported and the second hypothesis cannot be supported. These results indicate that 1) more blame was assigned towards a rape victim working in prostitution compared to a rape victim not working in prostitution, 2) men assigned more blame to all rape victims over all conditions compared to women, 3) men were more likely to have a positive attitude towards prostitution and 4) people having a more positive attitude towards prostitution showed significantly less empathy and more blame towards victims of rape. However, some hypotheses were found not significant meaning that: 1) people did not show less empathy for victims of rape that work in prostitution compared to victims of rape that do not work in prostitution at all, 2) people did not show less empathy and more victim blame towards a rape victim voluntarily working in prostitution compared to a rape victim working in prostitution forced by a lover boy and 3) women did not show significantly less empathy towards all rape victims compared to men. Lastly, the covariate age did not have a significant effect at all but the covariate education did have a significant effect regarding the variables blaming and attitude, meaning that the level of education does have an effect on both victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution.

Results of the current experiment show that condition did not have an effect on the amount of empathy shown for all victims. Participants in all conditions did not show more empathy towards a victim of rape regardless of the victim working in prostitution or not and regardless of the involvement of the victim forcedly working in prostitution. However, even though the result cannot be interpreted, a certain trend heading towards significance has been found regarding the effect of condition on empathy regarding the voluntary prostitution condition and the control condition (p -value = .058). Further on, while condition did not have a significant effect on empathy, it did have a significant effect on victim blaming. Like the result regarding the effect of condition on empathy concerning the expected difference between rape victims working voluntarily or forcedly in prostitution, no significant effect of condition on blaming has been found. Nevertheless, a significant difference of condition on blaming has been found considering the amount of blame assigned towards rape victims working in prostitution compared to rape victims not working in prostitution at all. Overall, a rape victim working in prostitution was blamed significantly more for the victimization compared to a rape victim not working in prostitution. Furthermore, gender did not result in a significant difference on empathy. The results indicate that women were not more likely to show less empathy towards all rape victims compared to men. However, again a marginally significant effect on empathy has been found (p -value = .054). Despite the insignificant effect of gender on

empathy, the effect of gender on victim blaming was found significant. Women assigned less blame towards all rape victims compared to men. Next, gender also did have a significant effect on attitude. The results indicated that, as expected, men were more likely to have a more positive attitude towards prostitution compared to women. Additionally, attitude did have a significant effect on both empathy and blaming which means that people having a more positive attitude towards prostitution showed less empathy and assigned more blame towards all the victims of rape in this study.

Implications

While various hypotheses were found to be significant, such a result was not found when examining the first hypothesis concerning empathy which expected that more empathy should be shown towards a rape victim working in prostitution compared to a rape victim not working in prostitution. In addition, the second hypothesis, based on the expectation that more empathy should be shown to a rape victim working in prostitution who is forced by a lover boy compared to a rape victim who voluntarily works in prostitution, was also found insignificant. These results suggest that there was no effect of the experimental condition on expressions of empathy towards the victim. The hypotheses were made based on results from Kleinke and Meyer (1990) and Grubb and Harrower (2008) which suggest that people show more empathy towards victims if they are able to identify themselves with the victims and the thought that people could identify themselves more with rape victims not voluntarily working in prostitution or rape victims not working in prostitution at all. The results implicate that people do not show more empathy for any particular rape victim. While a marginally significant p -value of .058 was found, the role of identification with a rape victim seems unclear. However it was expected that a rape victim not working in prostitution would receive more empathy, it could be possible that some participants had equal or even more empathy for the voluntarily working prostitute as one could perceive this victim to be 'just an innocent employee earning money' and one could have more compassion for the involuntarily working prostitute due to the involvement force. However, the hypothesis regarding voluntarily vs. involuntarily working in prostitution not being significant implicates that the involvement of force does not contribute to more empathy towards that particular rape victim. Lastly, while identification with victims has not been tested it is not excluded that this factor might have an effect, whether or not this could be a mediating or moderating effect.

While no significant effect at all was found of condition on the variable empathy, significant effects were found of condition on the variable blaming regarding the first

hypothesis. Significant results were found regarding the hypothesis that people assign more blame towards rape victims working in prostitution compared to victims not working in prostitution at all. This result suggests that raped prostitutes are more blamed for their victimization and that they are held more responsible and accountable which is in line with the study from Smith et al. (1976). They suggested that respect could play part in this. Various studies suggest that credibility issues and prejudices might contribute to the assigning of more blame towards a rape victim working in prostitution (Sullivan, 2007; Belknap, 2010 and Venema, 2016). Therefore, it could be possible that prejudices and the stigma of working in prostitution have influenced the amount of blame. In other words, it could be true that people are more likely to assign more blame towards victims of non-stereotypical rape, like prostitutes, as they do not meet the criteria of the ideal victim. Nevertheless, condition was found not significant on the variable blaming regarding the hypothesis that people assign more blame towards rape victims working in prostitution when they are forced by a lover boy compared to rape victims who voluntarily work in prostitution. This result indicates that force does not have an influence on the amount of blame. However unexpected, it could be true that the stigma of working in prostitution is more likely to make a difference in the amount of blame assigned than the involvement of force does. In sum, being a prostitute seems to weigh heavier than being an involuntary prostitute. Further on, while condition did not have a significant effect on empathy at all, but did have a significant effect on blaming regarding the first hypothesis, the result might indicate that more empathy and less blaming do not always go hand in hand. It could be possible that empathy is more based on personal factors like experiencing a similar event oneself and knowing the victim, while blaming might be more based on victim characteristics like working in prostitution.

Next, while it was expected that women would show more empathy towards all victims of rape, this prediction was also found insignificant. Although Kleinke and Meyer (1990) found that women show more empathy towards rape victims if they can identify themselves with the victim, it seems that this study did not find gender differences in empathy. However, the results indicate a *p*-value of .054 indicating that a significant result possibly can be found in other populations. Additionally, as expected men assigned more blame towards the victim over all scenarios compared to women. This outcome is in line with previous research done by Whatley (1996), Grubb and Harrower (2008) and Cotton et al. (2002) who already found that men are more likely to blame victims of rape compared to women. Testing the hypothesis regarding gender differences in attitudes towards prostitution showed that as expected men had a more

positive attitude towards prostitution compared to women. This result suggests that men are more likely to justify the existence of prostitution and support it whether or not to fulfill their sexual needs as suggested by Cotton et al. (2002).

Interestingly, results also showed that participants with a more positive attitude towards prostitution show less empathy and assigned more blame to all victims of rape. This result implicates that the suggestion made by Cotton et al. (2002), which refers to the association between the belief that prostitutes are unrapable and the support of prostitution, does not only involve believing that prostitutes cannot be raped but it possibly also includes that all women are to blame for being raped. According to Cotton et al. (2002), a positive attitude towards prostitution is related to negative views and thoughts about women in general. These findings regarding positive attitudes towards prostitution might indicate that overall people keeping up such an attitude have a more traditional view on sexuality and gender roles as this is associated with more victim blaming as suggested by Weis (2010) and recently found by Rollero and Tartaglia (2019). While men are more likely to blame victims of rape and to have a more positive attitude towards prostitution, it might be possible that these factors are related.

Unfortunately, the experiment did not show any significant results regarding both condition and gender on empathy towards raped prostitutes, even though gender differences in empathy showed a p-value of .054 which is considered to be a certain trend heading towards significance. While no significant result was found for gender differences regarding the variable empathy, it might be possible that having a more traditional view on sexuality and stereotypical gender roles mediates or moderates this effect as attitudes towards prostitution, which is possibly influenced by those factors, was found significant. Nevertheless, when taken into account the findings of the experiment and the literature review, results indicate that the effects of condition and gender on victim blaming regarding raped prostitutes is possibly driven by factors like credibility, prejudices and traditional views on gender roles and sexuality and in this experiment certainly by attitudes towards prostitution. Lastly, analyzing the covariate education did result in a significant effect regarding victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution between all conditions. These findings indicate that education level might play a role regarding these two variables, especially when considering the highly educated population of the study. Effects could possibly be stronger as the high level of education measured in this study could have weakened the effects as highly educated people might be more aware of rape myths, stereotypical gender roles and prejudices whereas lower educated people might be more

likely to blame rape victims, especially prostitutes, possibly due to a more traditional and conservative belief about gender roles.

Limitations

While all necessary care and measures were taken to conduct a valid and reliable experiment, some limitations could have influenced the outcome of the results. To start with, the population showed a quite high average concerning the education level (5.89). The population being highly educated might be a result of selection effects as participants were recruited in the direct environment. Many participants out of this direct environment are highly educated female students which might be a minor issue regarding generalizing the effects of the study. The high level of education could have weakened the effects as highly educated females are possibly less likely to blame the victims as they might have a more progressive view on gender roles. Further on, while participants were told that their data would be pseudonymously processed in order to reduce the risk on socially desirable answers and to avoid trust issues regarding privacy of the data and answers, such factors are not completely inevitable and are always able to influence the results. Furthermore, some participants were recruited via social media networks. Especially males participating in the experiment were recruited via this system and quite a few of these men decided to only take part in the study if they received participants for their own experiment in return. This might have led to filling in the questionnaire of this study not seriously. To prevent participants from filling in the questionnaire non-seriously, manipulation checks have been made and were able to separate the serious participants from the non-serious participants. Lastly, the original questionnaire has been translated from English into Dutch which might have caused translate biases as some words simply do not exist in every language.

When analyzing the results, some more limitations have been found. While gender differences involve a significant part of various hypotheses, the construct was meant to be equally divided. Nevertheless, statistics show an unequal division between men and women in all conditions. Especially the control condition shows a skewness between gender as only ten participants were men out of all 39 participants. The skewness might be explained by subject loss as most lost participants were men. In addition, women were overrepresented as more women participated than was thought on firsthand. It might be possible that effects were stronger if the division was more equal over gender. This might especially be the case for the hypothesis involving gender differences in empathy as the p-value was .054. Furthermore, the variable empathy had to deal with ceiling and floor effects. During analysis it was notable that

almost all participants scored very high on two particular items (1 and 7) and scored very low on the other five items (2, 3, 4, 5 and 6). Overall it was obvious that participants showed a lot of empathy towards the victims over all conditions which indicates high levels of empathizing with the victim. The possible ceiling and floor effects for the variable empathy might have caused that the manipulation effect was not strong enough to measure significant differences for conditions and gender on empathy.

Overall, the variable empathy seemed a little problematic. The construct existed of only seven items which were prone to ceiling and floor effects, showed a questionable internal consistency and its assumptions have been violated. The distribution of the variable was skewed and therefore not normally distributed and the assumption of normality has been violated. Possibly, effects could have been found if the variable empathy was based on a different original questionnaire as the RES was not invented to specifically measure empathy towards victims of rape or empathy should be measured using more specific and suitable items. Additionally, also the variable attitudes had a low internal consistency which might also have influenced the effects. Even though the hypothesis regarding this variable were found significant, effects might have been bigger. Although there are no indications for, it could be possible that the manipulation regarding the vignettes was not strong enough. It could be possible that the difference between the forced prostitution condition and the voluntary prostitution was not explicit enough to measure differences. This might also be the case for the control condition.

Recommendations

While various hypotheses were supported, it might be fruitful to investigate all possible relationships further as it could be possible that other factors are involved in the results which are not measured in the current study. Especially the variable empathy might be worth further research as this variable seemed questionable regarding this experiment. Adjusting and expanding items might cause significant effects.

Surprisingly, the results showed that having less empathy does not always indicate more blame. It might be possible that credibility, prejudices and traditional views and gender roles play an important role in the amount of assigned blame but not in the amount of empathy. The previously mentioned factors were not taken into account in the current study, but they seem to be interesting factors as suggested by literature. Additionally, the involvement of force regarding the two prostitution conditions did unexpectedly not play a significant role in the current experiment regarding both empathy and blame. This finding is worth further research as the involvement of force seemed not to make a difference on neither empathy nor blame

while differences on victim blaming between a rape victim working in prostitution and a rape victim not working in prostitution was found. In sum, being a prostitute seemed to increase the amount of victim blame but the involvement of force did not. Future research might provide insight in the role of the involvement of force and the amount of both victim blaming and empathy regarding the victimization of prostitutes. Furthermore, it might be possible that the amount of assigned blame is based on and influenced by the amount of victim credibility, prejudices and traditional views and gender roles of the observer. Additionally, these factors might be related to the attribution of responsibility, meaning that the amount of accountability assigned by observers towards a particular rape victim are influenced by victim credibility, prejudices and traditional views and gender roles.

It might also be useful to investigate attitudes towards prostitution further as it might be possible that gender differences, traditional views, prejudice and rape victims working in prostitution are all related. Traditional views on gender roles and sexuality might have an effect on the amount of both blame towards raped prostitutes and having a positive or negative attitude towards prostitution. It might be possible that men have a different belief in gender roles compared to women which refers to a more traditional and stereotypical view regarding gender roles and sexuality which could influence the attribution of responsibility leading to assigning higher amounts of blame towards rape victims. Especially non-stereotypical rape victims as they do not match their beliefs and thoughts about gender roles. Further research regarding these factors seems to be important as these traditional views and myths are persistently held which leads to negative consequences not only for raped prostitutes but for all victims of rape.

An additional interesting factor to investigate further might be education level as this covariate was found significant regarding various variables. Research regarding different levels of education and the amount of blame or attitudes towards prostitution is interesting as it might be helpful to gain more insight in populations who are more likely to blame rape victims in order to reduce victim blaming, not only for raped prostitutes or rape victims in general, but for all victims of sexual violence.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to gain more insight in the role of empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution of observers towards raped prostitutes by answering the research question: To what extent do people show empathy and assign blame towards raped prostitutes and how is this related to a positive or negative attitude towards prostitution? Literature suggests that raped prostitutes have to deal with several negative consequences when

they report a rape. In particular secondary victimization as a result of not meeting the criteria of the ideal victim, low victim empathy and credibility, rape myths, prejudice and conservative views on gender roles and stereotypes. Based on this literature, a legal framework and an experiment have been made. The legal framework suggests that it is of crucial importance to consider (raped) prostitutes to be victims rather than criminals which should lead to a decreased stigma, belief in rape myths, prejudices and stereotyped gender roles and an increased level of victim credibility, empathy and collaboration between law enforcements, the police and victims themselves. Results of the experiment suggest that there is no effect of condition on empathy. At least in this study. Furthermore, results indicate that condition does have an effect on victim blaming. Despite that no difference in the amount of blame was found between rape victims working voluntarily in prostitution and rape victims working in prostitution forced by a lover boy, it was found that rape victims working in prostitution are blamed more for their victimization compared to rape victims not working in prostitution at all. Additionally, men were found to assign more blame towards all victims of rape compared to women. Next, men were also more likely to have a positive attitude towards prostitution compared to women indicating that they are more likely to support and justify prostitution. Also, people with a more positive attitude towards prostitution were found to be more likely to blame victims of rape and have less empathy for them. Both the results of the legal framework and the experiment suggest that more research is needed to examine how victim blaming can be reduced as this phenomenon has a huge influence on secondary victimization, rape rates and the underreport of rape, especially the underreport of rape involving prostitutes. The current research suggests that further research should be focused on victim blaming, attitudes towards prostitution, victim credibility, prejudices, myths and traditional views on gender roles and sexuality as these factors seem to be crucial in understanding why victims of rape, both stereotypical but to an even bigger extend non-stereotypical rape victims, are blamed for their victimization while they should be perceived to be victims. Understanding this process is not only important for scientists and researchers but is also crucial for victims and especially for law enforcements in order to take every alleged victim of rape serious. While it might seem that all victims of rape are perceived to be victims in general, results of the current study indicate that rape victims working in prostitution are blamed more for their victimization. Also, certain beliefs regarding gender roles and stereotypes, rape myths, prejudice and sexuality possibly contribute to positive attitudes towards prostitution combined with more victim blaming which in turn contributes to secondary victimization of raped prostitutes. These factors are not only visible in observers

regarding this study but also in policy makers, law enforcements and police as in the Netherlands prostitution laws are based on a doubtful 'free choice' rather than recognizing prostitutes to be victims of men's' oppression. These findings are alarming as all victims of rape should be treated equally, with respect to their victimization and the motivation for prostitution laws should be changed. However, while rape myths, stereotypes, traditional views on gender roles and prejudices have been implemented for ages it seems that society and law enforcements are far behind and must take serious measures in order to conquer the blaming of not only raped prostitutes, but every victim of rape.

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Appendix

Informed consent 1: *English*.

Dear respondent,

Thank you for your time to participate in this survey. Please take some time to read the following information.

Vignette study on 'rape myths'

This study is being conducted to complete a master thesis for the master victimology and criminal justice which will be completed in August 2019. This study is approved by the Tilburg Law School Ethics Review Board and has the intention to gain insight in observer reactions towards victims of rape. This study consists of reading a vignette and filling in questionnaires.

Participation, benefits and risks

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. This study is expected to last around 10-15 minutes. You have the right to withdraw at any time without any negative consequences. If you want to withdraw, please close your internet browser. Risks are minimal for participation in this study. During this study you will be confronted with scenarios that contain sexual violence. If you do not want that, it is recommended to stop your participation right now.

Confidentiality and questions

All data obtained from participants will be processed pseudonymously. Personal data (sex, age and education level) will only be used for educational purposes. All data will be stored for 10 years and can be used for other research purposes.

If you have any questions or remarks regarding this study, you may contact Eva Mulder or Franka van Disseldorp by calling to ... or sending an e-mail to ... or ...

If you have read the requirements and agree to participate in this study, please type below: 'I have read and agree to this terms'.

Vignette 1: Rape scenario voluntarily working in prostitution.

On a cold and dark Friday night in February, Kim walks home after she has been working. Kim works as a prostitute and she likes her job. At the age of 21 she voluntarily chose to work in prostitution. Meanwhile, Kim turned 26.

Kim is cold and therefore she tries to walk as quickly as possible to her home. Nevertheless, she cannot walk that fast as she is wearing high heels. On her way home a man approaches her from behind. Kim smiles at him. She recognizes the man as Jim, who is a frequent client of her when she is at work. Jim asks her if she wants to have a drink with him. In the first instance Kim declines friendly, but after doubting for a bit and the insisting of Jim she decides to go with him for a drink. Together they go to a café and take place at the bar. After drinking 2 wine Kim decides that she wants to go home. She puts on her lipstick and together with Jim she walks to the exit of the café. As Kim shuts the door, she notices that her skirt is stuck in the door. Quickly she frees herself and wants to say goodbye to Jim. At that moment, Jim asks Kim if she wants to have sex with him. Kim tells him that she is not working at the moment and that she wants to go home. When Kim tries to pass Jim, he grabs her and drags her into a small alley. He held his hand over her mouth when Kim tries to scream. Kim resists but she cannot prevent that Jim has sexual intercourse with her. Before Jim tries to flee the scene he throws a 50 Euro bill at her and yells: 'Here is your money, you whore!'. Without the money, Kim runs to her home and calls the police.

Vignette 2: Rape scenario control condition.

On a cold and dark Friday night in February, Kim walks home after she has been working. Kim works as a hairdresser and she likes her job. At the age of 21 she started working in the local hair salon. Meanwhile, Kim turned 26.

Kim is cold and therefore she tries to walk as quickly as possible to her home. Nevertheless, she cannot walk that fast as she is wearing high heels. On her way home a man approaches her from behind. Kim smiles at him. She recognizes the man as Jim, who is a frequent client of her when she is at work. Jim asks her if she wants to have a drink with him. In the first instance Kim declines friendly, but after doubting for a bit and the insisting of Jim she decides to go with him for a drink. Together they go to a café and take place at the bar. After drinking 2 wine Kim decides that she wants to go home. She puts on her lipstick and together with Jim she walks to the exit of the café. As Kim shuts the door, she notices that her skirt is stuck in the door. Quickly she frees herself and wants to say goodbye to Jim. At that moment, Jim asks Kim if she wants to have sex with him. Kim tells him that she does not want to have sex with him and that she wants to go home. When Kim tries to pass Jim, he grabs her and drags her into a small alley. He held his hand over her mouth when Kim tries to scream. Kim resists but she cannot prevent that Jim has sexual intercourse with her. Before Jim tries to flee the scene he throws a 50 Euro bill at her and yells: 'Here is your money, you whore!'. Without the money, Kim runs to her home and calls the police.

Questionnaire 1: <i>English</i> .		
Category	Question	Original questionnaire
Victim blaming	1 Kim is an innocent victim of rape	ARVS 3 R*
	2 Kim should not complain about the rape	ARVS 6
	3 Kim does not provoke rape.	ARVS 8 R*
	4 Kim's job significantly increases the risk on rape	ARVS 12 R
	5 Kim deserved the rape because she had a drink with Jim	ARVS 13
	6 Kim puts herself in a position to be raped	ARVS 16
	7 Kim should not blame herself for the rape	ARVS 19 R*
	8 Kim is not inviting rape	ARVS 22 R*
	9 Kim is not really damaged by the rape	ARVS 24
	10 It was a bad idea that Kim went to a café with Jim	SELF 1
	11 Kim seems to be a naïve person	SELF 2
	12 Kim should not have walked alone to her house after she finished working	SELF 3
	13 Kim should not have accepted Jim's invitation	SELF 4
	14 Kim provokes rape by wearing high heels and a skirt	SELF 5
	15 It seems that Kim is not able to estimate risks	SELF 6
	16 Kim could expect that Jim wanted to have sex with her	SELF 7
Empathy	1 I feel that Kim provoked the rape	RES 3
	2 I can empathize with Kim	RES 8 R*
	3 I believe that it is impossible for Kim to enjoy being raped	RES 12 R*
	4 I can really empathize with the helplessness that Kim might felt during the rape	RES 13 R*
	5 I feel that Kim suffers from an emotional trauma after the rape.	RES 17 R*
	6 I feel that Kim is not to blame for the rape	SELF 8 R*
	7 I do not feel sorry for Kim	SELF 9
Attitudes towards prostitution	1 Prostitution is a form of violence against women	APPS 17 R*
	2 Prostitutes like sex	APPS 18
	3 Prostitution is a form of rape in which the victim gets paid	APPS24 R*
	4 Accusations of rape by bar girls, dance hostesses and prostitutes should be viewed with suspicion	ARVS 18
	5 In most cases when a prostitute was raped, she deserved it	ARVS 25
	6 If a man rapes a prostitute, the rape is justified by the fact that the prostitute chooses to have sexual relations with other men	RES 9

	7	Prostitutes cannot be raped	SELF 10
	8	If a woman works in prostitution, she should accept the consequences	RES 7
	9	If a woman works in prostitution, she shows that she is interested in sexual intercourse	RES 7
Demographic variables	1	What is your sex?	
	2	What is your age?	
	3	<i>What is the highest level of education that you succeeded?</i>	

5-points Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree).

R* = needs to be revised.

Debriefing 1: *English*.

Thank you for your participation.

The aim of this study was to test the role of empathy, victim blaming and attitudes towards prostitution in prostitution rape. The questionnaire and the rape scenario were used to measure if there is any relationship between the constructs. Also, gender differences were taken into account.

If you have any questions or remarks regarding this study, you may contact Eva Mulder or Franka van Disseldorp by calling to ... or sending an e-mail to ... or ...

Informed consent 2: *Dutch translation.*

Beste deelnemer,

Bedankt dat u wilt deelnemen aan dit onderzoek. Neemt u rustig de tijd om de volgende informatie door te lezen.

Dit onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in het kader van het afronden van de master victimology and criminal justice in augustus 2019 in de vorm van een master thesis. Dit onderzoek is goedgekeurd door de Tilburg Law School Ethics Review Board en heeft als doel het inzichtelijk maken van waarnemingsreacties op slachtoffers van verkrachting. Dit onderzoek bestaat uit het lezen van een scenario en het invullen van online vragenlijsten.

Deelname aan dit onderzoek is volledig vrijwillig. Het onderzoek zal naar verwachting 10-15 minuten duren. U heeft het recht om uw deelname op elk moment te stoppen zonder dat dit enige consequenties heeft. Als u wilt stoppen kunt u dat doen door het internetvenster te sluiten. Risico's betreffende uw deelname aan deze studie zijn minimaal. Gedurende het onderzoek zal u geconfronteerd worden met scenario's die seksueel geweld bevatten. Mocht u dit niet willen, wordt geadviseerd uw deelname per direct te stoppen.

Alle verzamelde gegevens zullen pseudoniem verwerkt worden. Uw persoonlijke gegevens (geslacht, leeftijd en opleidingsniveau.) worden uitsluitend voor studie doeleinden gebruikt. De gegevens met betrekking tot dit onderzoek zullen 10 jaar bewaard worden en kunnen gebruikt worden voor andere onderzoeksdoeleinden.

Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben betreffende het onderzoek kunt u contact opnemen met Eva Mulder of Franka van Disseldorp door te bellen naar ... of door te mailen naar ...
of ...

Als u de voorwaarden heeft gelezen en deel wilt nemen aan dit onderzoek kunt u in onderstaande ruimte typen: 'Ik accepteer de gelezen voorwaarden'.

Vignette 3: Rape scenario voluntarily working in prostitution – Dutch translation.

Op een koude en donkere vrijdagnacht in februari loopt Kim naar huis nadat ze heeft gewerkt. Kim werkt als prostitué en is blij met haar werk. Toen Kim 21 was besloot ze vrijwillig aan het werk te gaan als prostitué. Inmiddels is ze 26.

Kim heeft het koud en probeert daarom zo vlug mogelijk naar huis te lopen. Dit gaat echter niet zo snel omdat ze hoge hakken aan heeft. Onderweg wordt ze van achter benaderd door een man. Kim lacht naar hem. Ze herkent de man als Jim, die haar regelmatig als klant bezoekt als ze aan het werk is. Jim vraagt of Kim zin heeft om wat met hem te gaan drinken. In eerste instantie bedankt Kim vriendelijk, maar na enige twijfel en aandringen van Jim besluit ze toch wat met hem te gaan drinken. Samen gaan ze naar een café en nemen plaats aan de bar. Na het drinken van 2 wijntjes besluit Kim dat ze toch naar huis wilt. Ze werkt haar lippenstift bij en samen met Jim loopt ze naar de uitgang van het café. Als Kim de deur van het café wil sluiten merkt ze dat haar rokje tussen de deur zit. Snel maakt ze zich los en wil ze afscheid nemen van Jim. Op dat moment vraagt Jim of Kim seks met hem wilt. Kim zegt tegen hem dat ze niet aan het werk is en dat ze graag naar huis wilt. Als Kim hem probeert te passeren, grijpt Jim haar vast en trekt hij haar een klein steegje in. Als Kim probeert te schreeuwen houdt Jim zijn hand voor haar mond. Kim verzet zich, maar kan niet voorkomen dat Jim seks met haar heeft. Voordat Jim weglucht, gooit hij een 50 euro biljet naar Kim en schreeuwt: 'Hier is je geld, hoer!'. Zonder het geld te pakken rent Kim naar huis en belt ze de politie.

Vignette 4: Rape scenario working in prostitution forced by a lover boy – Dutch translation.

Op een koude en donkere vrijdagnacht in februari loopt Kim naar huis nadat ze heeft gewerkt. Kim werkt als prostitué. Toen Kim 21 was, werd ze gedwongen om in de prostitutie te werken doordat ze slachtoffer werd van een loverboy. Ze ontmoette haar loverboy toen ze 18 was. Hij beloofde haar een goede toekomst met hem samen als ze genoeg geld zou verdienen als prostitué. Echter, in realiteit mishandelde hij haar wanneer ze niet genoeg geld verdiende. Inmiddels is ze 26.

Kim heeft het koud en probeert daarom zo vlug mogelijk naar huis te lopen. Dit gaat echter niet zo snel omdat ze hoge hakken aan heeft. Onderweg wordt ze van achter benaderd door een man. Kim lacht naar hem. Ze herkent de man als Jim, die haar regelmatig als klant bezoekt als ze aan het werk is. Jim vraagt of Kim zin heeft om wat met hem te gaan drinken. In eerste instantie bedankt Kim vriendelijk, maar na enige twijfel en aandringen van Jim besluit ze toch wat met hem te gaan drinken. Samen gaan ze naar een café en nemen plaats aan de bar. Na het drinken van 2 wijntjes besluit Kim dat ze toch naar huis wilt. Ze werkt haar lippenstift bij en samen met Jim loopt ze naar de uitgang van het café. Als Kim de deur van het café wil sluiten merkt ze dat haar rokje tussen de deur zit. Snel maakt ze zich los en wil ze afscheid nemen van Jim. Op dat moment vraagt Jim of Kim seks met hem wilt. Kim zegt tegen hem dat ze niet aan het werk is en dat ze graag naar huis wilt. Als Kim hem probeert te passeren, grijpt Jim haar vast en trekt hij haar een klein steegje in. Als Kim probeert te schreeuwen houdt Jim zijn hand voor haar mond. Kim verzet zich, maar kan niet voorkomen dat Jim seks met haar heeft. Voordat Jim wegvlucht, gooit hij een 50 euro biljet naar Kim en schreeuwt: 'Hier is je geld, hoer!'. Zonder het geld te pakken rent Kim naar huis en belt ze de politie.

.

Vignette 5: Rape scenario control condition – Dutch translation.

Op een koude en donkere vrijdagnacht in februari loopt Kim naar huis nadat ze heeft gewerkt. Kim werkt als kapster en is blij met haar werk. Toen Kim 21 was, ging ze aan het werk als kapster bij een kapsalon in de buurt. Inmiddels is ze 26.

Kim heeft het koud en probeert daarom zo vlug mogelijk naar huis te lopen. Dit gaat echter niet zo snel omdat ze hoge hakken aan heeft. Onderweg wordt ze van achter benaderd door een man. Kim lacht naar hem. Ze herkent de man als Jim, die haar regelmatig als klant bezoekt als ze aan het werk is. Jim vraagt of Kim zin heeft om wat met hem te gaan drinken. In eerste instantie bedankt Kim vriendelijk, maar na enige twijfel en aandringen van Jim besluit ze toch wat met hem te gaan drinken. Samen gaan ze naar een café en nemen plaats aan de bar. Na het drinken van 2 wijntjes besluit Kim dat ze toch naar huis wilt. Ze werkt haar lippenstift bij en samen met Jim loopt ze naar de uitgang van het café. Als Kim de deur van het café wil sluiten merkt ze dat haar rokje tussen de deur zit. Snel maakt ze zich los en wil ze afscheid nemen van Jim. Op dat moment vraagt Jim of Kim seks met hem wilt. Kim zegt tegen hem dat ze geen seks wil met hem en dat ze graag naar huis wilt. Als Kim hem probeert te passeren, grijpt Jim haar vast en trekt hij haar een klein steegje in. Als Kim probeert te schreeuwen houdt Jim zijn hand voor haar mond. Kim verzet zich, maar kan niet voorkomen dat Jim seks met haar heeft. Voordat Jim wegvlucht, gooit hij een 50 euro biljet naar Kim en schreeuwt: 'Hier is je geld, hoer!'. Zonder het geld te pakken rent Kim naar huis en belt ze de politie.

Questionnaire 2: <i>Dutch translation.</i>			
Category		Question	Original questionnaire
Victim blaming	1	Kim is een onschuldig slachtoffer van verkrachting	ARVS 3 R*
	2	Kim zou niet moeten klagen over de verkrachting	ARVS 6
	3	Kim heeft de verkrachting niet uitgelokt	ARVS 8 R*
	4	Het beroep van Kim maakt de kans op verkrachting aanzienlijk groter	ARVS 12 R
	5	Kim verdient de verkrachting omdat ze is gaan drinken met Jim	ARVS 13
	6	Kim heeft zichzelf in de positie gebracht om verkracht te worden	ARVS 16
	7	Kim zou zichzelf niet de schuld moeten geven van de verkrachting	ARVS 19 R*
	8	Kim heeft er niet om gevraagd om verkracht te worden	ARVS 22 R*
	9	Kim is niet beschadigd door de verkrachting	ARVS 24
	10	Het was een slecht idee van Kim om met Jim wat te gaan drinken	SELF 1
	11	Kim komt over als een naïef persoon	SELF 2
	12	Kim had niet alleen naar huis moeten lopen nadat ze klaar was met werken	SELF 3
	13	Kim had niet op de uitnodiging van Jim in moeten gaan	SELF 4
	14	Kim lokt verkrachting uit door hoge hakken en een rokje te dragen	SELF 5
	15	Kim komt over als een persoon die niet goed risico's kan inschatten	SELF 6
	16	Kim kon verwachten dat Jim seks met haar wilde	SELF 7
Empathy	1	Ik heb het gevoel dat Kim de verkrachting heeft uitgelokt	RES 3
	2	Ik voel met Kim mee	RES 8 R*
	3	Ik denk dat het onmogelijk is voor Kim om plezier te ervaren tijdens de verkrachting	RES 12 R*
	4	Ik leef mee met de hulpeloosheid die Kim zou kunnen ervaren tijdens de verkrachting	RES 13 R*
	5	Ik denk dat Kim een trauma kan oplopen door de verkrachting	RES 17 R*
	6	Ik denk dat de verkrachting niet de schuld is van Kim	SELF 8 R*
	7	Ik heb geen medelijden met Kim	SELF 9
Attitudes towards prostitution	1	Prostitutie is een vorm van geweld tegen vrouwen	APPS 17 R*

	2	Prostitués houden van seks	APPS 18
	3	Prostitutie is een vorm van verkrachting waarbij het slachtoffer betaald wordt	APPS 24 R*
	4	Als een prostitué een man beschuldigt van verkrachting, zou men de beschuldiging moeten wantrouwen	ARVS 18
	5	Als een prostitué verkracht wordt dan is het meestal haar verdiende loon	ARVS 25
	6	Als een man een prostitué verkracht is de verkrachting rechtvaardig door het feit dat een prostitué zelf kiest voor seksuele interactie met andere mannen	RES 9
	7	Prostitués kunnen niet verkracht worden	SELF 10
	8	Als een vrouw in de prostitutie werkt zou zij de consequenties hiervan moeten accepteren	RES 7
	9	Als een vrouw in de prostitutie werkt straalt zij uit dat ze geïnteresseerd is in seksuele interactie	RES 7
Demographic variables	1	Wat is uw geslacht?	
	2	Wat is uw leeftijd?	
	3	Wat is uw hoogst afgeronde opleiding?	

5-points Likert scale (1 = volledig oneens, 2 = oneens, 3 = neutraal, 4 = eens en 5 = volledig eens).

R* = moet worden omgeschaald.

Debriefing 2: *Dutch translation.*

Bedankt voor uw deelname aan dit onderzoek.

Het doel van dit onderzoek betreft het testen van de rol van empathie, 'victim blaming' en attitudes jegens prostitutie. De vragenlijst en het verkrachtingsscenario werden gebruikt om te onderzoeken of er een verband bestaat tussen de voorheen genoemde constructen. Daarnaast wordt ook het verschil in geslacht gemeten.

Mocht u vragen of opmerkingen hebben betreffende het onderzoek kunt u contact opnemen met Eva Mulder of Franka van Disseldorp door te bellen naar ... of door te mailen naar ... of ...

Table 1: *Principle Component Analysis Blaming.*

Components	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	26.705	26.705
2	13.845	40.551
3	8.388	48.938
4	7.206	56.144
5	6.822	62.966
6	6.333	69.299

Table 2: *Principle Component Analysis Empathy.*

Components	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	33.552	33.552
2	15.003	48.555

Table 3: *Principle Component Analysis Attitude.*

Components	% of variance	Cumulative %
1	31.669	31.669
2	19.374	51.043
3	11.988	63.031

Table 4: *Pearson's correlation.*

	Blaming	Empathy	Attitude	N
Blaming	1			118
Empathy	.521***	1		118
Attitude	.498***	.414***	1	118

*Significant $p < .05$ **Significant $p < .01$ ***Significant $p < .001$

Table 5: *Descriptive statistics.*

	M	SD	Minimum	Maximum	N
Forced condition					
Blaming	33.58	1.30	19.00	51.00	39
Empathy	10.29	0.54	7.00	16.00	39
Attitudes	19.89	0.66	18.00	27.00	39
Age	25.64	9.47	18	56	39
Gender	0.74	0.44	0	1	39
Education	5.79	1.49	2	7	39
Voluntary condition					
Blaming	34.36	1.10	21.00	57.00	42
Empathy	10.30	0.46	7.00	18.00	42
Attitudes	21.77	0.56	14.00	31.00	42
Age	27.50	11.13	20	69	42
Gender	0.55	0.50	0	1	42
Education	5.93	1.11	2	7	42
Control condition					
Blaming	26.57	1.17	17.00	41.00	37
Empathy	9.02	0.47	7.00	19.00	37
Attitude	21.13	0.60	14.00	30.00	37
Age	26.03	8.62	18	60	37
Gender	0.43	0.50	0	1	37
Education	5.95	1.22	2	7	37
Total					
Blaming	31.50	1.17	13.00	31.00	118
Empathy	9.87	0.49	7.00	19.00	118
Attitude	20.93	0.61	13.00	31.00	118
Age	26.42	9.80	18	69	118
Gender	0.58	0.50	0	1	118
Education	5.89	1.27	2	7	118

Figure 1: *Quantile comparison plot empathy.*

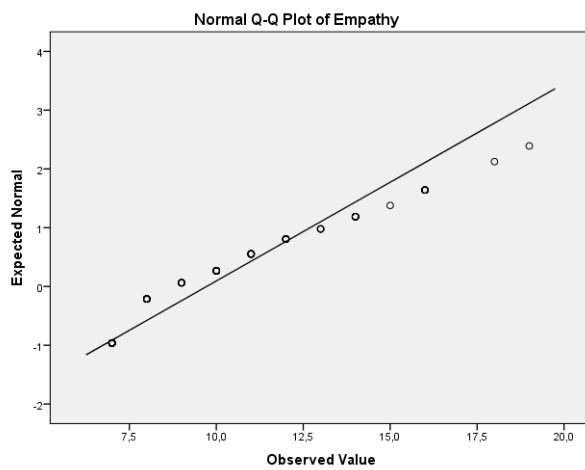


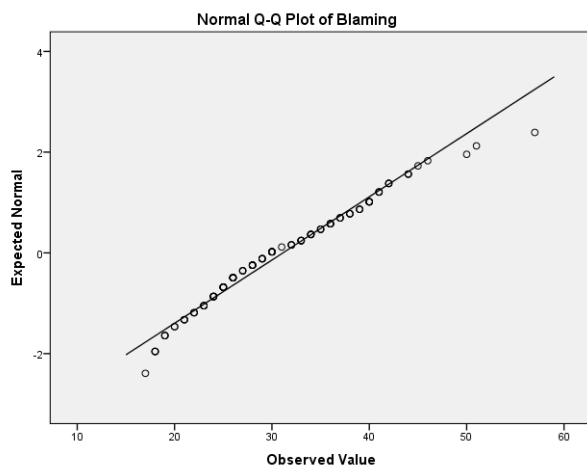
Figure 2: *Quantile comparison plot victim blaming.*

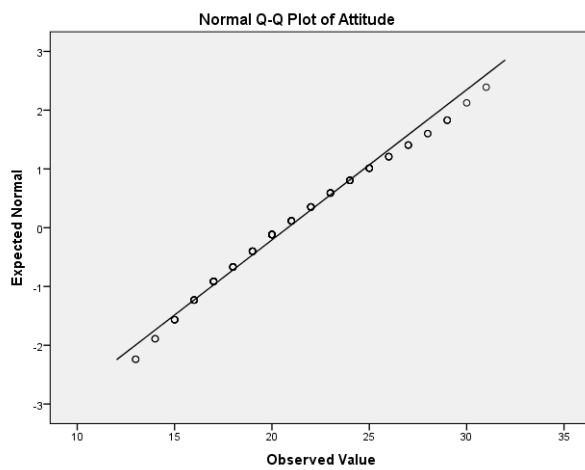
Figure 3: *Quantile comparison plot attitude.*

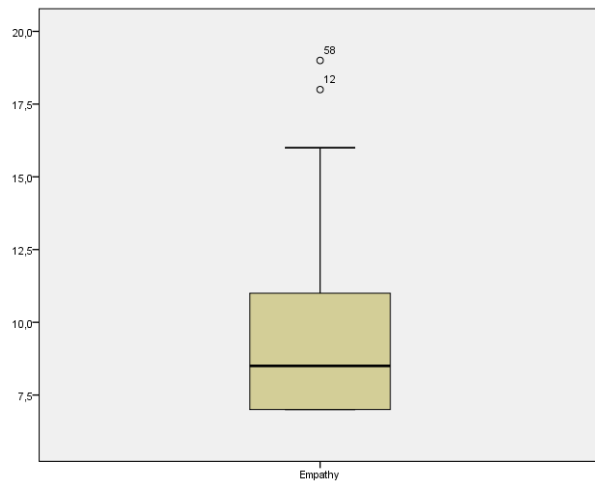
Figure 4: *Boxplot empathy.*

Figure 5: *Boxplot victim blaming.*

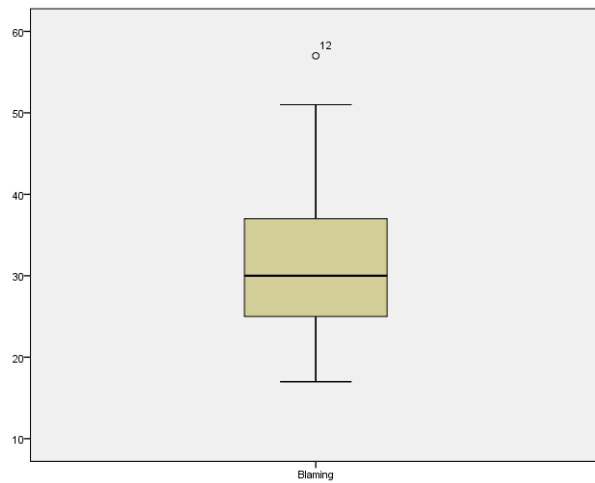


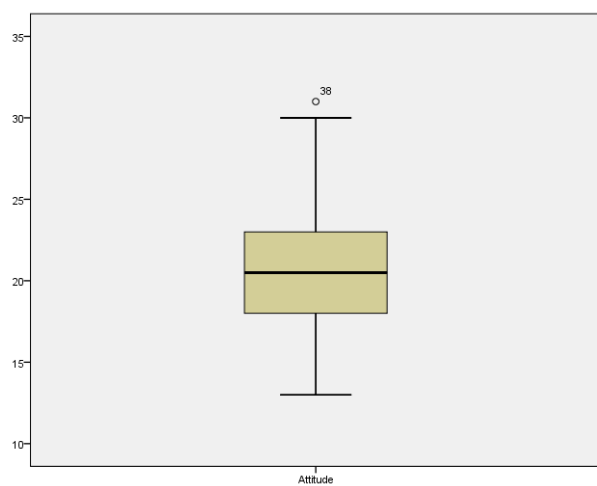
Figure 6: *Boxplot attitude.*

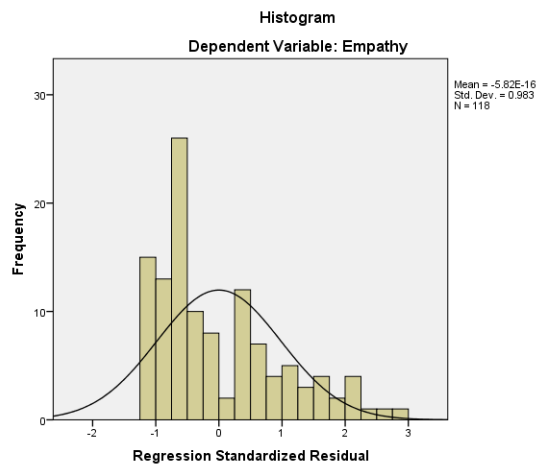
Figure 7: *Histogram MANCOVA empathy.*

Figure 8: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA empathy.*

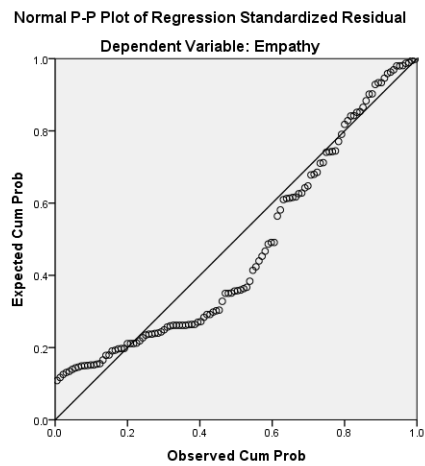


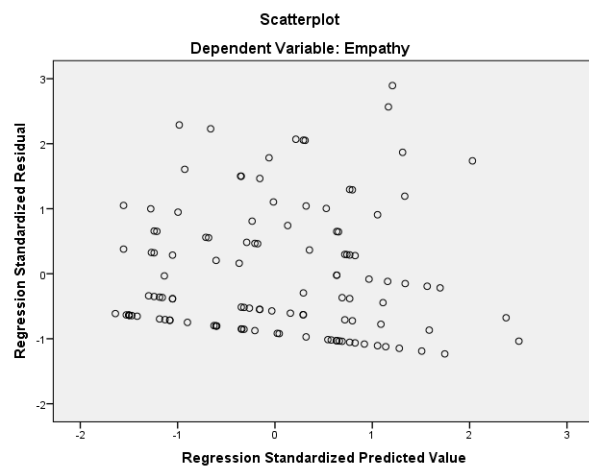
Figure 9: *Scatterplot MANCOVA empathy.*

Table 6: *Variable inflation factor MANCOVA empathy.*

	VIF
Condition	1.035
Age	1.106
Education	1.108
Gender	1.036

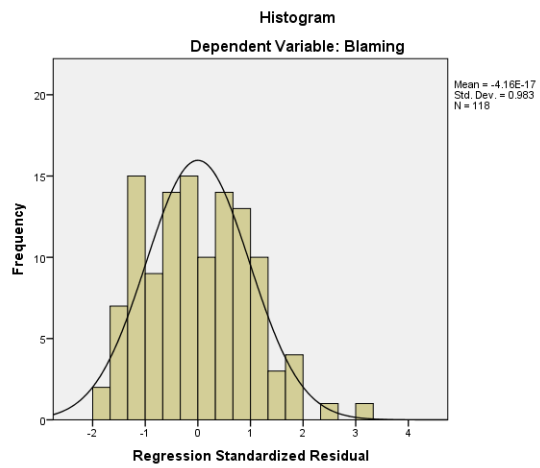
Figure 10: *Histogram MANCOVA blaming.*

Figure 11: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA blaming.*

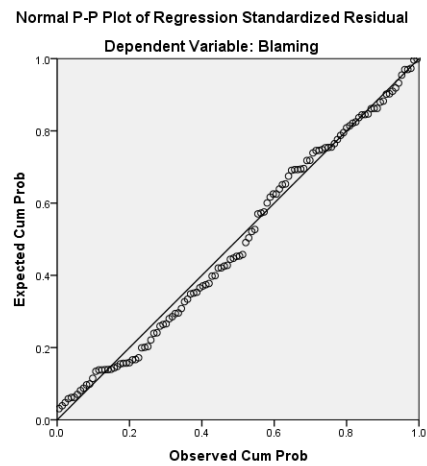


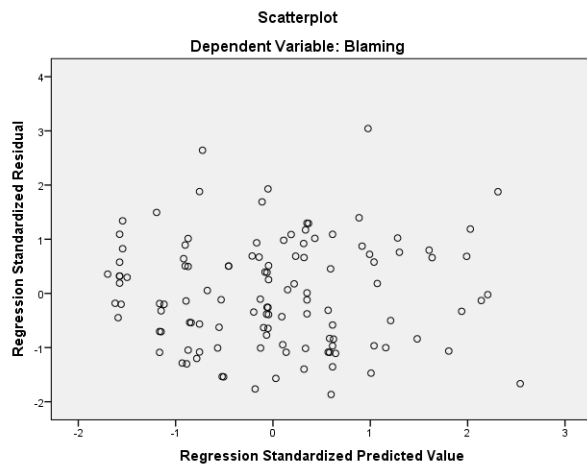
Figure 12: *Scatterplot MANCOVA blaming.*

Table 7: Variable inflation factor MANCOVA blaming.

	VIF
Condition	1.035
Age	1.106
Education	1.108
Gender	1.036

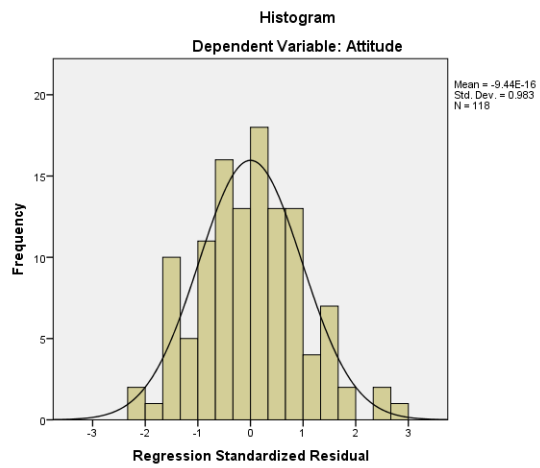
Figure 13: *Histogram MANCOVA attitude.*

Figure 14: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot MANCOVA attitude.*

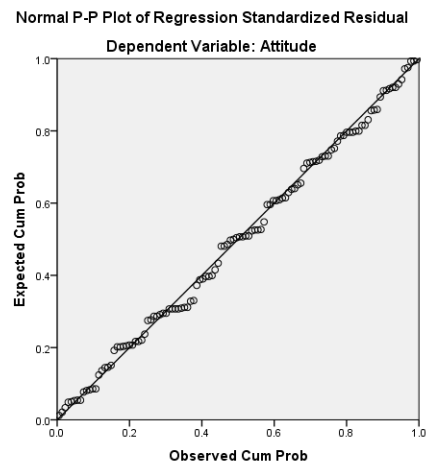


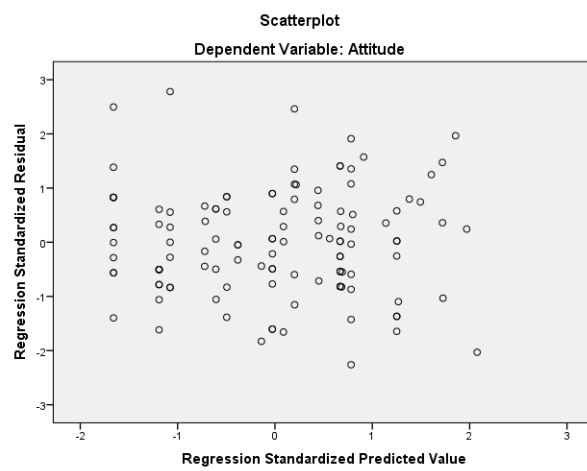
Figure 15: *Scatterplot MANCOVA attitude.*

Table 8: *Variable inflation factor MANCOVA attitude.*

	VIF
Condition	1.035
Age	1.106
Education	1.108
Gender	1.036

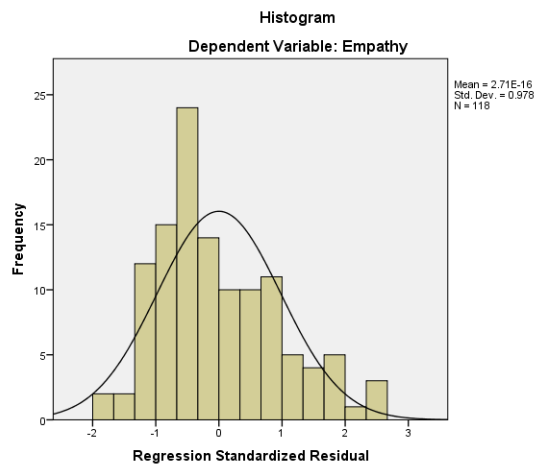
Figure 16: *Histogram regression empathy.*

Figure 17: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot regression empathy.*

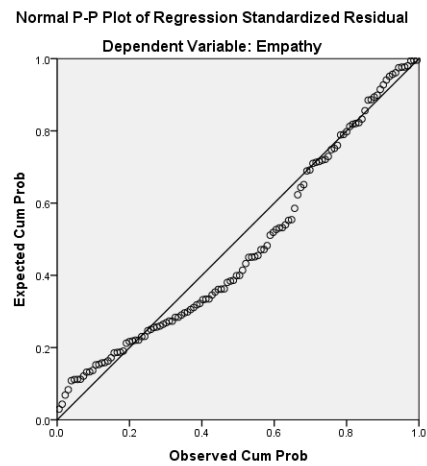


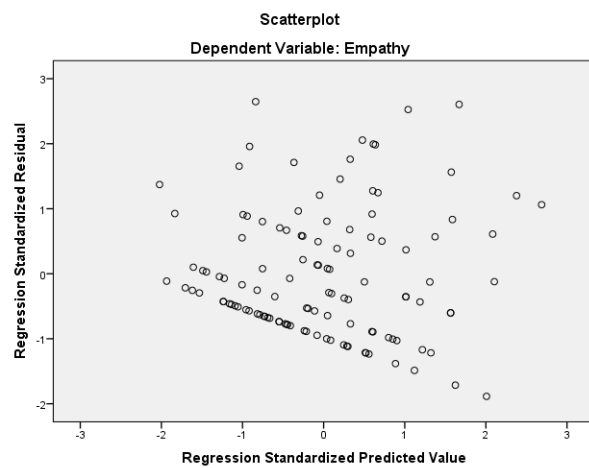
Figure 18: *Scatterplot regression empathy.*

Table 9: *Variable inflation factor regression empathy.*

	VIF
Attitude	1.226
Age	1.106
Education	1.188
Gender	1.127

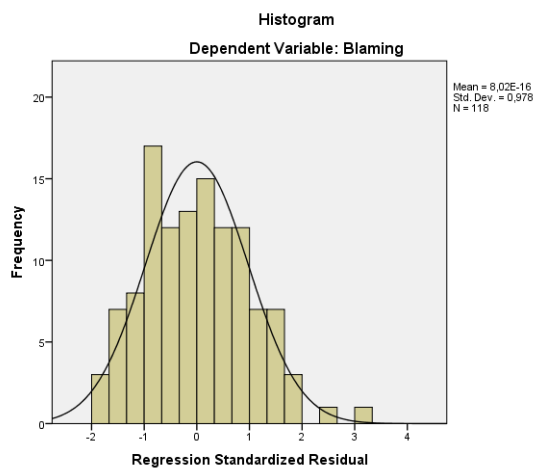
Figure 19: *Histogram regression blaming.*

Figure 20: *Expected vs. observed cumulative probability plot regression blaming.*

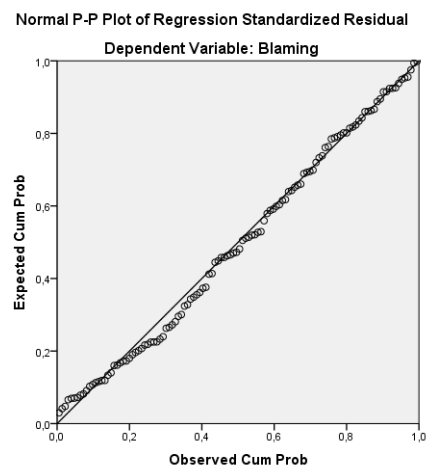
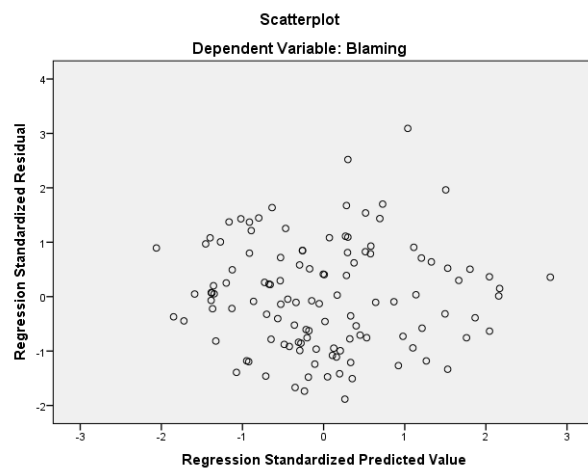


Figure 21: *Scatterplot regression blaming.*

<i>Table 10: Variable inflation factor regression blaming.</i>	
	VIF
Attitude	1.226
Age	1.106
Education	1.188
Gender	1.127

Table 11: *MANCOVA*.

	$\Lambda (p)$	Empathy			Blaming			Attitude		
		F	<i>p</i>	ηp^2	F	<i>P</i>	ηp^2	F	<i>P</i>	ηp^2
Age	.990 (.782)	.086	.770	.002	.518	.473	.016	.004	.950	.001
Education	.912 (.019)*	.325	.570	.001	6.855	.010**	.030	7.403	.008**	.023
Condition	.707 (<.001)***	2.263	.109	.022	13.485	<.001***	.176	2.359	.099	.020
Gender	.903 (.011)**	3.799	.054	.023	8.675	.004**	.049	9.158	.003**	.005

*Significant $p < .05$ **Significant $p < .01$ ***Significant $p < .001$

Table 12: *Pairwise comparison condition.*

Condition	Empathy				Blaming				Attitude			
	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>
C, PV			1.275	.667			7.785	<.001***			.644	.435
C, PF			1.268	.726			7.008	<.001***			1.241	.169
PV,PF			.007	.707			.776	.650			1.885	.871
C	9.022	.468			26.572	1.173			21.126	.600		
PV	10.298	.456			34.357	1.099			21.770	.562		
PF	10.290	.539			33.581	1.299			19.885	.664		

*Significant $p < .05$ **Significant $p < .01$ ***Significant $p < .001$

Table 13: *Pairwise comparison gender.*

	Empathy				Blaming				Attitude			
	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>	M	SD	MD	<i>p</i>
Gender			1.112	.054			4.063	.004**			2.135	.003**
Men	10.427	.438			33.535	1.056			21.994	.054		
Women	9.312	.367			29.472	.885			19.860	.452		

*Significant $p < .05$ **Significant $p < .01$ ***Significant $p < .001$

Table 14: *Multiple regression analysis empathy.*

	T	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	F	df	<i>P</i>	R ²
Empathy				8.001	3, 114	<.001***	.174
Attitude	4.751	<.001***	.415				
Education	.296	.768	.027				
Age	.551	.583	.049				

*Significant $p < .05$ **Significant $p < .01$ ***Significant $p < .001$

Table 15: <i>Multiple regression analysis blaming.</i>							
	T	<i>p</i>	<i>B</i>	F	df	<i>P</i>	R ²
Blaming				13.347	3,114	<.001***	.260
Attitude	5.759	<.001***	.476				
Education	-1.345	.181	.116				
Age	-.499	.619	-.042				

*Significant $p < .05$

**Significant $p < .01$

***Significant $p < .001$